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ABSTRACT

This annotated bibliography is intended to contribute toward an understanding of labor and migration, both of which have helped to shape our nation. A total of 131 works, including a few periodicals and newspapers, focus on immigration and internal migration as it affects organized and unorganized labor. (BH)

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LABOR AND MIGRATION

an Annotated Bibliography

BY THOMAS R. BROOKS

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BROOKLYN COLLEGE CENTER FOR MIGRATION STUDIES
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PREFACE

"The stranger" has always presented problems and encountered problems. The biblical injunction on the treatment of strangers is an early instance in our Judeo-Christian heritage of an attempt to improve attitudes and actions toward the stranger.

We in the United States must be sensitive to the presence of strangers. We are, as has been said many times, "a nation of immigrants." Even the Indians found by the first Europeans had only been here some 25 or 30,000 years, newcomers in a geological time sense. Since the pilgrims landed, some 44,000,000 immigrants have arrived, from all points of the globe.

Internal migration has always been one of the major facts of our national life. Each recent year has seen some 36 million persons – around twenty percent of our population – moving their homes within the United States. Six to seven million of them move across at least one state line.

Persons living in a state different from their state of birth made up 26 percent of the population in 1960, an increase over the proportion in [1850], which was 24 percent.

We are, and we have been from our earliest days, a people on the move. That means that many of us, and most of our ancestors, have gone through the experience of being strangers. The religious, political, economic, civic and other institutions of the receiving community have played a part in helping us become integrated into our new environment. The Brooklyn College Center for Migration Studies is dedicated to the study of and education about what happens in this process. We hope to study each major set of institutions and the roles they have played.

We believe the labor movement is outstandingly important in the integration process. We have been fortunate in securing the aid of Thomas R. Brooks, one of our foremost labor scholars, to begin gathering accounts of labor and the migrant and annotating them on the basis of his deep knowledge of our history. That knowledge is displayed brilliantly in his book Toil and Trouble: A History of American Labor (New York: Dell, 1964).

We trust that this bibliography, and the Center's conference on "Labor and Migration", will contribute toward an understanding of both labor and migration. Financial support of our efforts by the David Dubinsky Foundation is gratefully acknowledged.

Clarence Senior, Director
Brooklyn College Center for Migration Studies
February, 1970

INTRODUCTION

Migration–either across national boundaries (immigration) or internal–is central to our national experience. Nearly all who move – either from their native land or within this vast country – must find work on arrival. And it is this process, this search for job opportunity, that turns strangers into brothers, fellow workers, residents and creates the new home. It is a process beset with difficulties and loaded with conflict even in the best of times.

Historically migrations fall into two broad categories – that of skilled urbanized people advancing themselves through their skills in a new location, and that of peasants leaving the land for new opportunities in the urban industrialized world. These two movements often have been commingled and have been confronted by a fast-changing industrialism. In some instances, the new arrivals fround an open labor market and were able to fashion their own institutions as it expanded and absorbed them. Others found, as it were, a seived labor market where jobs were found only at the interstices of already existing institutions, those of employers as well as those of preceding generations of workers.

The Sturm und Drang of immigration colors and sometimes obscures the historical process of "Americanization," which is both pluralistic and yet not unaffected by the so-called "melting pot." What strikes the reader of even a bare scattering of accounts by-and-of immigrants are the wild swings between portrayals of the country as "the golden land" of opportunity where riches lie about for the taking and those grim tales of hunger, the desperate hunt for work at any price, and unrelieved poverty in dank, vermin-infested slums. An almost identical bi-focal vision occurs in contemporary accounts of present-day migrations and the conditions faced by blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Indians and other minority groups. To help us understand ourselves we need to know something of past ethnic conflicts, how they were viewed then and how they are seen under the light of present scholarship. This consideration has shaped this annotated bibliography.

I have been moved by both curiousity and chance, and I have not attempted to put together a complete bibliography: it is a beginning. The focus is on immigration and internal migration as affecting labor organized and unorganized, and in the manpower marketplace. The Brooklyn College Center for Migration Studies has helped financially, and Calrence Senior has given advice and guidance. I can only hope that the reader will find here some aid to his understanding of the movement of peoples that has fashioned so much of our history.

Brooklyn, N. Y.
February 1, 1970

Thomas R. Brooks

Abbott, Edith, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem:* Select Documents. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1926. And, Arno Press, New York, 1969. 812 pp..

Ranging from enthusiastic (see pp. 75-58) immigrants' letters to Know-Nothing editorials warning against "pauperism" (see pp. 321-325), Miss Abbott documents the history of migration from 1750 down to the turn of the century. It's a rich and varied collection but some background in history and economics is essential if the reader is to make the most of it. For example, documents discussing immigration immediately following the Civil War, when labor appeared in short supply, glowingly favor immigration, while anything written in depressed times invariably deplores the drowning of "native" labor by the masses of Europe. Still there is a wealth of raw material here grouped in sections ––I "Causes of Emigration –– United Kingdom, Northern Europe; II Economic Aspects of the Immigration Problem; III Early Problems of Assimiliation; IV Pauperism and other Domestic Immigration Problems; and V Public Opinion and the Immigrant."

Abbott, Edith, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924. And, Arno Press, New York, 1969. See pp. 474-484; and pp. 621-651.

Labor agencies recruit gangs of immigrant workmen for work on the railroads, west and northwest of Chicago. The maximum legal fee is fixed at $2.00 but agents charged anywhere from $2.00 to $15.00, usually by giving the fee another name. At this time, roughly 1905-1910, Italians, Greeks, Bulgarians. Croatians, and Roumanians were engaged in the Mid-west, carrying cross-ties, shovelling ballast, straightening track and digging out drainage ditches. Exploitation, according to the U.S. Immigration Commission, fell into the following categories –– charging exorbitant fees and commissions; discharging workers so that they pay for reinstatement, or "square" themselves with foremen; sending men to where jobs do not exist; interpreters' dishonesty; poor food at high prices; and transportation dishonesty. Chicago, reports Miss Abbott, apparently served as a clearing house for seasonal laborers. On pp. 474-484 there are several reports discussing the labor agencies, how they work, and the failure of the law and its enforcement to protect the immigrant laborer. On pp. 621-651, are the case histories. For example, Ivan Orliniecky, a Russian Pole, aged 32, married, two children in Chicago: He was promised, Spring, 1915, a job in a wagon factory at 22¢ an hour. He paid an employment fee of $15.00. At work, however, he found that he was paid only 16½¢ an hour. The Immigrants' Protective League, in this case, managed to secure a refund of $10.00. There is also a fascinating wage claim case, which took two years to settle (1914-1916). But it wasn't until 1920 the last of the eight men was found and paid his share of the $353.65 settlement. The interested reader may want to look into other sections of the book, which documents early attempts at regulating steerage conditions (1751-1882), the admission of immigrants under state laws, cover federal laws and important cases affecting immigrants, travel conditions and how immigrants fared in industrial accidents and under workmen's compensation laws.

Adamic, Louis. *Dynamite.* The Viking Press, N.Y., 1931, 437 pp.

The classic account of class violence in America. Adamic attributes the rise in violence during the first third of the century to the immigrant's reaction to, and/or rebellion against brutalizing conditions. He catches the chaos and instability of early industrialism. Though the book is journalistic and suffers from a kind of vulgar Marxism, it does give one a feel of the harshness of life among many groups of immigrant workers.

Adamic, Louis, *From Many Lands,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1940. See pp. 147-164.

The reader may dip almost anywhere in this book and catch a glimpse of some aspect of immigrant life. But the story of Anton Kmet, 80, a retired Slavic steelworker, is perhaps the best for anyone who wants to know what it is like to work in the mills for twenty-five years and retire, at 55, on a disability pension of $21.40 a month. "In the old country only state officials get pensions," Kmet tells Adamic. And, this sums up America "a great fantastic place" for Kmet. But, he adds, "Maybe I did work too hard, crowded my years too fast with *obertaim* . . . it may be that now I'm getting only what was my due all along. . . . Of course, it may be that they did not figure I would live so long and get the best of them in the deal. Maybe I'm getting more than my due. . . ."

Ameringer, Oscar, *If You Don't Weaken.* Henry Holt and Company, 1940, See pp. 36-51; and pp. 193-223.

Oscar Ameringer gives us a glimpse of how at least one young German immigrant moved from being an apprentice in his father's cabinet shop to America, where he worked in a small furniture factory and got caught up in the first May Day, the Knights of Labor strike for an eight hour day. Ameringer also tells how the musician's union was born; although he does not say so directly, it is clear that being both a musician and a German helped.

Along with his account of a 1905 brewery strike. Ameringer tells the story of black *and* white dock workers striking in New Orleans. "It was a good strike, as strikes go. There were a few breaks on the part of the white men; none on the Negro side." Their cooperation was born of hard necessity; each in turn had been used by the employers to break the other's strike. Prejudice remained, but cooperation may have also been responsible because white dockers were immigrants, or migrants, too. At least one of their leaders was Irish, and Ameringer himself played a mediating role. Unhappily, Ameringer does not tell us if any of the dockers were native Southerners. It would be interesting to know.

Anonymous. *Farm Labor Organization, 1905-1967.* National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. July, 1967. 68 pp.

A useful review of farm worker organization from the early efforts of the Industrial Workers of the World in California shortly after the turn of the Century, down through the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in the 1930s and 1940s to the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee and the grape boycott of the 1960s. Since migratory workers pick much of the nation's crops, this is also a history of an important segment of migrant and immigrant labor. The Committee, 112 East 19th St., New York, 10003, issues annual reports on migratory farm labor.

Anonymous. *"Autobiographies of Floating Laborers". Trade Unionism and Labor Problems:* Second Series. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1921. pp. 94-101.

Two interviews made for the United States Industrial Relations Commission, 1914. The first is a 56 year-old lumberjack, American born of American parents; the second, a 24 year-old Danish immigrant floater found working in the South Dakota wheat fields as a harvest hand. A sense of alienation and of uprootedness is very strong in both men, one an immigrant and the other an inmigrant. The younger man, though, has participated in more efforts at worker organization.

Babcock, Kendrick Charles, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States.* University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Urbana, 1914. 223 pp..

A history of the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes in the United States, most of whom moved out to the farmlands of the mid-West and West. The Scandinavians were treated as "preferred stock" and were wooed by the railroads, acting as land speculators, as settlers. However, as the author points out (in the Chapter on "Economic Forces at Work," pp. 79-105), many of the immigrants served as laborers on farms, in the lumber camps and on railroad constructions, saving enough in a year to buy 40 to 80 acres of government land, a yoke of oxen and a few farm tools. There is some discussion of "native" and Scandinavian competition (p. 100), but none of the role the immigrants played in, say, the American Railway Union, or in the Industrial Workers of the World. Of special interest is a table of comparative daily wages of Blacksmiths and Carpenters in the Scandinavian countries (80 cents an hour) and in the United States ($2.66 to $2.98 an hour). See page 85.

Balch, Emily Greene. *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens.* Charities Publication Committee, New York, 1910. 536 pp. and, Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Miss Balch covers the Slavic immigration at its source and in the United States, and devotes a chapter to the economic situation of the Slav in America (Chapter XIV, pp. 282-310). By 1910, there were 3.7 to 6.4 million Slavs in America, counting Bohemians, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenians, Croatians (and Dalmatians), Serbians, Bulgarians, and Russians. The Slavic group, according to Miss Balch, was absorbed chiefly in four occupations —— mining, metalwork, common labor and agriculture. But, they are also found in the textile mills, sugar refineries, wire factories, oil works, stockyards and packing houses.

Baily, Samuel L., "The Italians and Organized Labor in the United States and Argentina: 1880-1910." *International Migration Review,* Summer, 1967. p. 56-66.

An Associate Professor of History at Rutgers, the author finds that the Italian immigrants to Argentina were "of primary importance" to the organization of the labor movement where as in the United States "they were of limited importance," and asks, why? Tentatively, he suggests six answers: First, the Italians were influential in Argentina organized labor from the beginning; in the United States "they arrived enmasse after labor had begun to organize. . . ." Second, the relative strength of the Italians in Argentina (five times that of the U.S.) apparently minimized prejudice and provided a power base. Third, Italians in Argentina arrived at a time of economic expansion, thereby experiencing enhanced bargaining power. Fourth, North Italians with experience in trade unionism did not stand aloof from their Southern brothers as they apparently did in the U.S.. Fifth, U.S. craft unions were exclusive by nature where Argentine politically-oriented unions were not and thereby served the function political machines served for immigrants to the U.S.. Finally, the culture of Argentina was closer to that of Italy, and the Italians there did not have the major language problem their fellows did in the U.S..

Barbash, Jack, "Ethnic Factors in the Development of the American Labor Movement," *Interpreting the Labor Movement.* Industrial Relations Research Association, Publication No. 9, 1952. p. 70-82.

An exploration of the ethnic factors influencing the development of the American labor movement. Tentatively, Professor Barbash suggests: (a) "there is no such phenomenon as Irish-Catholic or Jewish or English unionism in the sense that certain types of unionism are intrinsic to or inherent in a place of national origin or in a system of religious faith." (b) "The major input of the ethnic factor seems to have been on union government, administration, and politics, rather than on the substance of union policy in specific situations," (c) on balance, "ethnic diversity has been a source of strength;" and (d) "In short, the union has had a powerful 'Americanizing' influence."

Bennett, Marion T., *American Immigration Policies,* Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1963. 362 pp..

A useful review of government policy on immigration from colonial times to the present. Miss Bennett briefly describes colonial attempts at encouraging and controlling immigration. There were restrictions against criminal and pauper immigrants in some colonies as early as 1639 as well as prejudice against non-English immigrants. Though the Constitution gave Congress power over immigration, the period down to 1880 was generally free of controls. Enumeration began in 1820, and 9,104,034 arrived during the years 1820-1875. Immigration more than doubled in the period that followed, from 1880-1920. Congress then began enacting a series of acts aimed at controlling both the quantity and "quality" of immigration. Most of Miss Bennett's book is given over to examining this period from the early attempts to exclude the immoral and incompetent down to the present national origins quota system.

Benson, Lee. *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy.* Atheneum, New York. 1964. 351 pp.
See in particular: Chapter VII, pp. 123-164, "Class Voting in New York;" Chapter VIII, pp. 165-185, "Ethno-Cultural Groups and Political Parties;" and Chapter IX, pp. 186-205, "Religious Groups and Political Parties."

Also see Appendix III for estimated percentages of ethnocultural groups in New York, 1845, pp. 342-343.

Benson's study of voting in New York during the Jacksonian era leads him to conclude: "That the sharpest political cleavages occurred, not between immigrants and Yankees, *but between different groups of immigrants."* He rejects economic determinism, interest group theory, and socio-economic cleavages as chief explanations of voting behavior, arguing instead that "ethnic and religious differences have tended to be *relatively* the most important sources of political differences."

Benson draws a distinction between ethnic and ethno-culture because the former term lumps together voters who come from the same stock, even though the English of New England and New York, for example, developed divergent cultures that affected their political behavior. (Yankees, in this sense, were an immigrant group, moving into New York State following the opening up of the Erie Canal.) The question is, of course, whether the distinction is of value when analyzing voting behavior among subsequent immigrant groups. There are some indications that it *may* be; e.g., Italians who vote Republican as contrasted with those who vote Democratic. Are cultural factors at work, or socio-economic factors? Is there a difference in voting behavior between, say, American and West Indian Negroes? Again, what explains the difference?

Berthoff, Rowland Tappan, *British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790-1950.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1953. 296 pp..

"Of more than one and a quarter million British working people who disembarked in American ports between 1873 and 1918, over 40 per cent declared that they had been in skilled trades, while only 25 per cent had been unskilled laborers at home." According to the author, "a British workingman was not likely to cross the ocean unless he expected to find work in his proper trade." Thus, in contrast to the mass immigration of the late 1800s, "British migration to the United States ran not in a broad, undifferentiated stream but rather in many parallel channels. The economic forces which brought the British to America in the nineteenth century are to be discovered mainly in the histories of certain industries [textiles, mining, the building trades, metallurgy] on both sides of the Atlantic."

Blankenhorn, Heber, *The Strike for Union.* The H. W. Wilson Company. New York. 1924. 259 pages.

This account of the critical Somerset County (Pennsylvania) sector of the 1922 Coal War, which lasted a year-and-a-half and involved 24,000 miners, illustrates how strikes often turn strangers into brothers. (Unhappily, the opposite sometimes happens, too.) At one mine, the author reports, "The Welsh leader of the 'Americans', the leader of the Polish section and the leader of the Italians never met or discovered each other's existence until the morning at the shaft-head when all went on strike." See, in particular, Chapter III, pp. 41-83, and especially pp. 48-49 for discussion of racial lines in the mining camps. The nationality classification at the Berwind-White mines in 1922 showed twenty-two separate languages. Naturally, there was a great deal of suspicion, often encouraged by the coal companies. The immigrant -- Croation, Slovak, or Polish mostly -- benefit society buildings, however, often provided the only non-company meeting halls in the mining towns. And, their use by the strikers greatly diminished the hostility felt by one group against another. As it turned out, the strike was lost because of economic and political developments outside of the Somerset coal fields. Blankenhorn's book, nonetheless, shows (perhaps unwittingly for the author's intention is to discuss 'democracy in industry' and not inter-group relations) how, by going union various ethnic groups were brought together without losing their identity.

Blegen, Theodore C., *Norwegian Migration to America.* The Norwegian – American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota, 1931, 2 Vols.. 413 and 655 pp.. (Also, Arno Press, and The New York Times, New York, 1969.)

The Norwegian migration to America was largely one of land to land. Of special interest to the student of immigration and labor, however, is Professor Blegen's account of the role played in emigration by the Norwegian labor movement of the early 1850s, then headed by Marcus Throne (Vol. I. p. 323-329) Throne believed that a reduction in the number of laborers in Norway would raise wages, and that emigration would improve the lot of those going to the United States as well. Also of interest, is Professor Blegen's discussion of the role played by Norwegian immigrant seafarers in the American maritime trades. (Vol. II, p. 331-356).

Bromwell, William J., *History of Immigration to the United States.* Redfield, New York, 1856. 225 pp.. And, Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Not a history but a year by year compilation of statistics "exhibiting the number, sex, age, occupation, and country of birth" of passengers arriving in the United States from September 30, 1819 to December 31, 1855. The British Isles and Northern Europe were the source of much of this immigration during this period. Merchants, farmers, mechanics and laborers the largest categories of occupations.

Brooks, Thomas R.. *Toil and Trouble, A History of American Labor.* Delacorte Press and Delta Books, New York, 1964. 300 pp.

A popular history of the American labor movement, in which the author shows some awareness of the role of ethnicity in the development of trade unionism. "For many immigrants the American labor movement was a vehicle for Americanization. Their unions not only protected their jobs but also paved their way to citizenship. The independence Jefferson thought people could gain by owning land was in fact achieved by most immigrants through their unions. It is not too fanciful to think of many of the early strikes for union recognition as bids by this or that ethnic group for a place in the American sun."

Brophy, John, *A Miner's Life,* The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1964, See pp. 3-14 and 38-67.

Gives an excellent picture of what it was like to be a coal miner, especially what it was that made mine workers' solidarity so legendary. But it is also a classic instance of what psychologist Erik H. Erikson calls successful transmigration, "the resiliency of maintaining essential patterns in the processes of change." The move to America of the Brophys, English born Irish-Catholic mine workers, did not upset or destroy their well-integrated self-image and "identity." Union men and miners in England, they remained union men and miners in the United States. Significantly, young Brophy could not take factory work. In the mines, he wrote, "we feel some variety in our work, and could, within broad limits, set our own pace." Scattered throughout the early chapters are references to the ethnic groups found in the mining communities of Pennsylvania.

Burgess, Thomas, *Greeks in America.* Sherman, French and Company, Boston, 1913. 256 pp..

This is one of those annoying books where it is possible to discover how many Greeks there are in Little Rock, Arkansas, (300), or Lowell, Massachusetts, (8,000), New York, (20,000), or Chicago, (20,000), but not how many all told. Still, it has its fascinations, among them a Chapter IV on "Industrial Development", p. 32-51, an account of Greeks in cigarette manufacturer, as importers, confectionary and fruit store entrepreneurs, florists and bootblacks, as miners and mill hands. Greeks, "industrious and manageable workmen," worked on the railroad in repair gangs over the summer months and in the winter "flock to the city and live in harmful idleness." In his chapter on life in the mill towns, chiefly Lowell, Massachusetts, (Chapter IX, pp. 138-160), the author "pauses" in his history to discuss "the rise and conduct of the inter-racial war of this period [early 1900s], and how the Hellene won." Essentially according to Burgess, one knifed a Frenchman, and subsequently "nine stalwart Spartans" put to flight an army of several hundred French. "The descendants of Pausaneas had routed the host of latter-day barbarians." This hostility persisted, apparently, down through the strike of 1912, for he reports that though the Greeks struck with the rest they did so under their own organization and not as part of the I.W.W.. "This fact and their exemplary behavior redounded to their advantage," reports the author, but he does not say how.

Butler, Elizabeth Beardsley. *Women and the Trades.* Charities Publications Committee. The Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 1909. 417 pages.

The first general survey of industries within a given city employing women. "They have been wanted because women's work can be had cheap. . . .if the Slav is cheaper than the German, [the employer] employs the Slav; if the Slavic woman is cheaper than the man, and can do the work or some part of it, he employs the Slavic woman." Sixty percent of the women workers in Pittsburgh at this time –– early 1900s –– were not making a living wage. Most worked at unskilled or semi-skilled jobs with the daughters, sisters and wives of the more recent migrant groups at the lowest paying jobs. The very recent, the Italians at that time, still adhered to old country ways that kept "the girl to her house and to early marriage." "Length of settlement becomes a measure. . .both of the domestic life and of the industrial success of an immigrant group." Understandably, then, we find English-speaking girls holding the more desirable jobs in commercial establishments, the telephone exchanges and the better-paying factory jobs. "Americans," for example, were found in the better-class garment shops; Jews in "cheap and hustling shops;" while Irish or Germans make jeans and railroad jumpers "at home." Slavic girls "accept factory positions that girls of other races regard as socially inferior," scrubbing floors, sorting onions, packing crackers, stripping tobacco and trimming iron bolts.

Since "each woman-employing trade in Pittsburgh has drawn its characteristic racial group, and in some cases a secondary racial group," the book offers a wealth of material on the ethnic and racial composition of the female work force of Pittsburgh. The first chapter is an overview, and

there are individual chapters on the canning, confectionery, cracker and stogey industries; a section on the needle trades, the cleaning industry, metals, lamps and glass; the miscellaneous and commercial trades. There is a valuable summary of industrial conditions and an examination of the social life of working women.

Cahan, Abraham, *The Education of Abraham Cahan.* Translated by Leon Stein, Abraham P. Conan and Lynn Davison from the Yiddish. Jewish Publication Society of America. Philadelphia, 1969. 435 pp.. See pp. 193-414.

A vivid work by the great founder and editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward* of his early years in America. Of particular interest is his account of the participation of immigrant Jews in the Henry George mayoralty campaign of 1886. (pp. 313-329). "Today it seems incredible that there was a time when the non-Jewish American unions of New York joined together to support a candidate opposing the capitalist parties." Interwoven with the exciting vignettes of intellectual activity are those recounting the crusades for socialism and trade unionism. Once asked by a German anarchist why he had anything to do with an early garment union whose leadership had ties with Tammany and a saloon keeper, Cahan replied, "If I were allowed to advocate my ideas in a gambling house I ought not refuse the opportunity. It is my duty to spread socialist propaganda wherever I am. And this union is, after all, an organization of workers. In time, they will become enlightened." This faith shines through Cahan's "education" and all those years devoted to building worker organizations.

Capek, Thomas, *The Čechs (Bohemians) in America.* Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston, 1920. 294 pp. and, Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Chiefly a discussion of the Čech's national, historic, religious, cultural and social state. However, the book does afford some glimpses of how Czech immigrants entered the economy. See, in particular, Chapter III, pp. 25-58 and Chapter V, pp. 69-93. A large number of Czech immigrants went into farming, roughly 32 percent of the first generation, and 43 percent of the second. In contrast to other Slavs, few went into mining. A fair number were tailors (6.9 percent of the male breadwinners of the first generation), cigar-makers (3.2 per cent), and skilled pearl button makers in this country apparently all came from Žirovnice, a provincial Bohemian town. They arrived after United States tariffs all but destroyed the industry in their native land.

Carpenter, Niles, *Immigrants and Their Children – 1920.* Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1927. 431 pp..

The statistics of immigration –– how many, how distributed geographically and in terms of nationalities, age and sex, fecundity, marital conditions, and occupation –– are gathered together and analyzed in this Census Bureau monograph. Of particular interest to students of immigration and labor is Chapter X, "Occupations of the Foreign-born Population," pp. 268-294. Written at a time when the controversy over the supposedly advantageous "old" and allegedly deleterious "new" migration was still alive, Professor Carpenter concludes that the statistics of occupations "lend no support to the generally held opinion that the 'old' immigrants are more given to occupations requiring some degree of education than the 'new'. . .the distinctions between 'old' and 'new' immigration cannot be taken to imply any significant differences in the economic behavior of the congeries of races and nationalities subsumed under each term." So much for that!

Cayton, Horace R. and Mitchell, George S., *Black Workers and the New Unions.* The University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, 1939. 467 pp..

The authors concentrate on the steel and meat-packing industries as illustrations as to how blacks migrating out of the South and moving out of agriculture entered industry. In both instances, black workers entered the industry "either as strike breakers or at the time of great labor

shortage." The authors also discuss the role of black workers in the drive of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to organize mass production workers. They report, "During the S.W.O.C. [Steel Workers Organizing Committee, CIO] campaign (by and large) Negroes held office in greater proportion than their numbers warranted. The difference between that situation and the one that obtained during the Amalgamated campaign was that the national office of the SWOC and its organizers actually encouraged the election of Negroes to union offices. Certainly absolute partiality was shown toward them." In meat packing, the authors report, in 1939, that "Negro workers can by their numbers and importance determine whether the AFL or the CIO will be victorious and even whether the industry can be organized at all." There is an excellent chapter on the frustrations of black workers in six large railroad repair shops, where the union was inadequate and the black workers themselves were unable to work out a constructive course of action.

Chiu, Ping. *Chinese Labor in California.* State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1963. 180 pp.

The author's amply documented and thoroughly researched examination of the Chinese immigration to California demonstrates that the economic reasons for America's exclusionist policy are without foundation. More Chinese came upon their own than as contract laborers. The immigration began with the Gold Rush in 1852-1854, and peaked again in 1860-63. Thereafter, many returned home while others went into woolen mills, the clothing and cigar businesses, and agriculture. The Central Pacific Railroad enlisted Chinese ex-miners in its construction gangs. The anti-Chinese agitation, in fact, was led by workers who did not actually compete with Chinese labor. Demonstrates once again what people believe to be true often carries greater weight than what is true.

Claghorn, Kate Holladay, *The Immigrant's Day in Court,* Arno Press and The New York Times, New York, 1969. 546 pp..
See, Chapter VII., "The Immigrant Workingman Before the Court," p. 244-296.

How the immigrant fared in our courts is the subject of this thorough study, and there is much on civil cases, suits over money, cases involving minor offenses, deportations, crime and so on. There is also a useful discussion of the legal aide societies as "means of adjustment" for immigrants involved in the law. The chapter on the immigrant workingman before the courts is familiar stuff on labor conflicts -- picketing and strike activity -- that show up in the courts. However, the author does imply -- she doesn't quite make it clear -- that the court's attitude towards labor strife was often colored by ethnic snobbery as well as class interests. On page 255, she reports a Boston immigrant leader who reported that there was a general feeling among all the foreign-born that there was no justice in the courts, not because they were foreigners, but because they belonged to the labor class. One wonders if that was the case; unhappily, the evidence as presented here is not conclusive one way or the other.

Cole, Donald B. *Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1845-1921.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1963. 248 pp.

Dr. Cole traces in considerable detail the trials and vicissitudes of the Irish, French-Canadians, Italian and other immigrant groups from Eastern and Southern Europe who arrived in Lawrence in successive waves. He shows that despite similiar patterns of acculturation, there were few contacts between immigrant groups. Each group tended to remain ethnocentric even as it became Americanized. The author explores every facet of immigrant life -- family life, mill conditions, unionism, nativism, inter-group relations, politics, occupational status, and so on. The first part of the book is a history of Lawrence from 1845 to 1912; the second covers the immigrant's search for security; and the third, deals with the famous Lawrence strike and its aftermath. Dr. Cole argues that immigrant organizations, including their unions, grew out of the immigrants' quest for belonging and security in a new, often hostile and unfamiliar environment.

Commons, John R. ed., *Documentary History of American Industrial Society,* Vol. VII, pp. 88-95.

An early objection to immigration voiced in *Voice of Industry,* Fitchburg, Massachusetts, October 9, 1845, ". . .the democratic or whig capital of the United States is striving to fill the country with foreign workmen –– English workmen, whose object condition in their own country has made them tame, submissive and 'peaceable orderly citizens' that is work fourteen and sixteen hours per day for what capital sees fit to give them. . ." And, two other documents on immigration, one on the Native American Party, and another on the Irish and Canadian "help" taking over from the native Yankee.

Commons, John R. ed., *Documentary History of American Industrial Society,* Vol. IX. pp. 55-90.

A selection of documents touching on labor and immigration, including a letter from the United Sons of Vulcan, Puddlers' and Boilers' Union of the United States, to the Iron Workers of Great Britain on the cost-of-living in the United States –– a suit of Sunday clothes that will cost four pounds sterling in England, costs sixteen pounds; also the charter of the American Emigrant Company, which sought to recruit workers from England, and a similiar organization in the South that sought Chinese "to supplement the Negro." (It couldn't have come to much.) And a resolution passed by a group of workingmen in Boston in 1870, condemning the importation of Chinese "coolies", apparently to condemn a manufacturer who brought 75 "Celestials" to North Adams to work in a shoe factory to counteract the shoe union, the Knights of St. Crispin.

Commons, John R., "Labor Conditions in Meat Packing and the Recent Strike," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* November. 1904, p. 1-32.

Professor Commons writes: "Perhaps the fact of greatest social significance is that the strike of 1904 was not merely a strike of skilled labor for the unskilled, but was a strike of Americanized Irish, Germans and Bohemians in behalf of Slovaks, Poles, Lithuanians and Negroes." See p. 28-32, for his discussion of nationalities, their employment in the industry, their conflicts and role in the strike. Also of interest is the discussion of women in the industry on pages 21-25.

Commons, John R., "Labor Conditions in Slaughtering and Meat Packing." in *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems.* (Commons) ed. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1905. pp. 222-249; see especially pp. 238-249 for discussion of ethnic composition of industry.

"Perhaps the fact of greatest social significance is that the strike of 1904 was not merely a strike of skilled labor for the unskilled, but was a strike of Americanized Irish, Germans, and Bohemians in behalf of Slovaks, Poles, Lithuanians, and Negroes." (p. 245). Speeches at union meetings are translated into three or four languages, "and much trouble has been occasioned by dishonest or prejudiced interpreters, though with experience these are weeded out." The strike was defeated by bringing in skilled workers from the companies own branch houses and by importing Negroes and Greeks as strike breakers in the unskilled jobs. Commons notes that the substitution of ethnic groups is not new, and "evidently runs along the lines of lower standards of living." The latest arrivals from Europe [Lithuanians and Slavs] for example, were getting the equivalent of 18 cents for a 12 to 14 hour day in the Carpathian foothills and 18 cents an hour in the stockyards.

Commons, John R., *Races and Immigrants in America.* Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, New York, 1967. 242 pp..

Commons wrote a brief for greater restrictions on immigration. He believed, "Next to the frontier the farms of America are the richest field of assimilation." Therefore, legislation ought to *increase* the profitableness of agriculture and make it attractive to Americans and immigrants. He also

could write, "On the whole it seems that immigration and the competition of inferior races tends to dry up the older and superior races wherever the latter had learned to aspire to an improved standard of living. . . ." Still, on pages 220-224, there is a brief but interesting discussion on the impact of unionization on immigrant workers. Commons sees the unions as freeing its members from the dictation of employers, bosses and priests. "The sense of a common cause, and, more than all else, the sense of individual rights as men, have come to these people through the organization of their labor unions." In short, Commons views the union as serving to Americanize immigrants.

Commons, John R., "The Sweating System in the Clothing Trade," in *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems* (Commons) ed. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1905. pp. 316-335.

"The contractor is an important factor in the clannishness of the immigrant nationalities. . . . The contractors establish their shops. . .where people live, and since they can practically earn their living at home, they have no opportunity of mingling with others or of learning from other peoples."

This is a richly textured account of the impact of ethnicity on a trade. The advantage going to Jewish tailors as against native and Irish tailors, not because they were willing to work for less (the outcasts of the English tailoring trade did no better financially) but because of their willingness to use the sewing machine and the division of labor. The Italians secured their foothold through their employment of wives and sisters. The lost 1904 garment strike in New York also enlarged the employment of Italian garment workers, roughly 20 percent before the strike and over half afterwards. The union appointed an Italian organizer as a consequence.

Coolidge, Mary Roberts, *Chinese Immigration.* Arno Press and The New York Times, New York, 1969. 531 pp..

This is the classic account of the Chinese immigration, written in 1909 with compassion for the wronged Chinese. In Chapter III, pp. 41-54, Miss Coolidge effectively destroys "the Coolie fiction," that is the notion that the Chinese came to America as contract laborers. Most, in fact, came as free immigrants, paying their own passage either in advance or under some "go now, pay later," plan of the day, which, however, involved no term of involuntary or indentured service. Up until 1812, 50 percent of the Chinese in California were in mining, 40 percent in trade (chiefly among themselves), truck-gardening, farm labor, or performing various services. Less than one percent were in manufacturing. When the railroads began using Chinese "gangs" to build right-of-ways and lay track, most of these were recruited among ex-miners deserting that industry as veins ran out and as big companies took over the ore fields. Chinese competition was slight and affected only a very small number of white wage earners, chiefly Irish and German foreigners. The Chinese suffered at the hands of the rising labor movement, which was exclusionist, largely not because of any real competition but as a scapegoat. Bad times created unemployment and panic among workmen who had enjoyed some of the highest wage rates in the nation. See, in particular, "Chapters XVIII., Labor in California Before the Kearney Period [Kearney was a leader of anti-Chinese workmen]; XIX., The Chinese in Manufacture; XX., Labor and Chinese Competition."

Cook, Robert C., "The American Melting Pot: 1850-1950", *Population Bulletin,* Vol. XIII., November, 1957., No. 7. Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C., 1957. pp. 113-130.

A succinct review of immigration from 1850 to 1950, that is replete with statistics and competently appraises immigration policies. The author gives a brief run-down of immigrant geographic distribution and occupational characteristics. An excellent summary.

Davis, Jerome, *The Russian Immigrant.* The MacMillan Company, New York, 1922. 219 pp..

In 1910, there were roughly 46,147 foreign-born Russians in the United States. The author discuss Russian workmen thoroughly in Chapter III, pp. 16-55. Most were employed in coal mining and in the iron and steel industries, and as unskilled workers. At the time (1920), there was some evidence that the second generation Russian leaves the harder line of work and shifts into the easier. Their involvement with trade unions is reported as peripheral, though the Russians are said to be "loyal" members of the United Mine Workers. Those who were involved in the steel strike of 1919 were bitter against the union and the Americans as traitors who went back to work before it ended.

Di Donato, Pietro. *Christ in Concrete.* The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1932. 311 pages.

A novel that tells what it was like to be Italian, Catholic, poor and a bricklayer in the late 1920s. "We who work with our hands can live a thousand centuries, and yet will have to work." Peasant tenacity in the face of disaster, the dignity sweated out of work, and the love of life sustained by one's *paesans* are all beautifully evoked.

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave.* Signet. New American Library, New York, 1968. 126 pp. See pp. 99-104; and pp. 115-119.

In his justifiably famous autobiography, Frederick Douglass tells how he learned a trade, that of a ship's caulker, while a slave hired out by his master to a Baltimore shipyard, only to be prevented from practicing it as a freeman in New Bedford by prejudice among white caulkers. It was a foretaste of what many Black skilled workers faced after the Civil War.

DuBois, W. E. Burghardt, ed., *The Negro Artisan.* Atlanta University Press, Atlanta, 1902. 192 pp..

An invaluable study of the Negro artisan in slavery and down to 1902. As the author points out, "The [Ante-Bellum] South was lacking in manufactures, and used little machinery. Its demand for skilled labor was not large, but what demand existed was supplied mainly by Negroes." Interestingly, an 1850 survey of Negro occupations finds most of the black artisans concentrated in the South. New York City, Chicago, and Cincinnati were conspicuous for scarcity of black artisans, having only barbers. Border states did somewhat better, with brickmaking in Baltimore, iron and steel working in Louisville and Richmond, for example. Black carpenters, railway men and masons worked in such Southern cities as Atlanta, Charleston, and Memphis. Of the 22,300 black carpenters in the country in 1890, 20,000 were in the South. Of course, this was before the great migrations North began, so we do not know if these men remained in the South, or ultimately moved North.

Dubofsky, Melvyn. "Organized Labor and the Immigrant in New York City, 1900-1918." *Labor History.* Spring, 1961. Vol. 2, No. 2. pp. 182-201.

The history of immigrants is "inextricably linked to that of the labor movement." However, the author sees the hostility of the "Americanized" American Federation of Labor to the immigrants as reinforcing their radicalism and acting as an impetus toward "dual" unionism. Dubofsky illustrates his thesis by an analysis of the conflict between the socialist-oriented, Jewish immigrant-based unions -- the United Hebrew Trades, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers -- with the "American" and/or "Americanized" New York Central Federated Union (the City Central Trades body), the United Garment Workers of America, and the United Hatters of North America. Unfortunately, Dubofsky does not examine the ethnic or religious make-up of the "Americanized" unions. So, we do not know how "American" they were. He is also hard on A.F. of L. President Samuel Gompers. See: "Letters," an exchange between Dubofsky and Melech Epstein, *Labor History,* Spring, 1962. Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 233-235.

Dubofsky, Melvyn, *We Shall Be all:* A History of the Industrial Workers of the World. Quadrangle Books, Chicago. 1969. 557 pp.

In his definitive history of the IWW, Professor Dubofsky makes the point that "whether American-born or foreign-born," IWW members "were first generation immigrants to. . .industrial society." With its primitive millenarianism, radical syndicalist and vaguely defined goals, the IWW appealed to alienated migrants in the wheat fields, lumber camps and "agricultural factories" of the West and to the many-tongued immigrants working in the factories and mills of the East. Though often pictured as romantic, irresponsible rebels, the Wobblies were, in fact, hard-headed and pragmatic when it came to organizing workers in their struggles. For example, they frequently organized "language locals," pretty much as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union did, for reasons of convenience as well as solidarity. Far from being romantic exercises, their famed free-speech fights were essential tactics if they were to reach the migrants who came to Spokane, Fresno, San Diego, and elsewhere searching for jobs. The Wobbly story is an important part of the history of migrant and immigrant workers. Though the IWW lasted but a decade (1909-1917) as a force to be reckoned with, they did teach ethnically-fragmented workers an important lesson——Organize!

Dunne, Peter Finley. "Immigration." *Mr. Dooley: Now and Forever. Academic Reprints. 1954. pp. 172-177.*

"As a pilgrim father that missed th' first boats," Mr. Dooley comments, "I must raise me claryon voice again' th' invasion iv this fair land be th' paupers an' arnychists iv effete Europe."

"But as I tell ye, Hinnessy, 'tis diff'rent now. I don't know why 'til diff'rent but 'tis diff'rent. 'Tis time we put our back again' the' open dure an' keep out th' savage horde. If that cousin iv y'ers expects to cross, he'd better tear f'r th' ship. In a few minyits th' gates'll be down an' whin th' oppressed wurruld comes hikin' acrost to th' haven ir refuge, they'll do well to put a couplin' pin undher their hats, f'r th' Goddess iv Liberty'll meet thim at th' dock with an axe in her hand."

Elkins, Stanley M., *Slavery.* The Universal Library, Grosset & Dunlop, New York. 1963. 248 pp.. See Parts I-III, pp. 1-139.

Slavery was a form of forced migration, and the question of its impact on personality remains a matter of controversy. Is there a reality behind the Southern stereotype of the black man as Sambo? What explains the difference in impact on the personality of slavery in Brazil and in the United States? The West Indies and the American South? Making a comparative analysis, the author argues, essentially, that slavery in Brazil offered the black man breathing space. "The system's authority structure claimed their bodies but not quite their souls." It was not total. Drawing on an analogy with the concentration camp experience, Elkins argues that the "closed system" of slavery in the United States produced a changed personality type —— docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing, etc. —— a childlike dependency much like that produced in the concentration camps. "Both," writes Elkins, "were closed systems from which all standards based on prior connections had been effectively detached. A working adjustment to either system required a childlike conformity, a limited choice of "significant others." ["Significant others" being role models —— camp guards, in one case, plantation overseers in the other.]

A brilliant provocative book.

Erickson, Charlotte, *American Industry and the European Immigrant, 1860-1885.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1957. 269 pp..

Miss Erickson persuasively demonstrates that, despite myths to the contrary, "contract labor was rare in America during the years after the Civil War. . . . When, on rare occasions, American

Industrialists did resort to importations it was to bring in highly skilled workers for particular jobs. No mass importations of unskilled workers were made by mine operators and railroad contractors. The bulk of the immigration from Italy and Hungary in the eighties was as voluntary as the exodus from Sweden in the sixties and Ireland and Germany in the early fifties had been."

Recruiting, however, did occur. But Miss Erickson's evidence suggests that it was "in connection with the sale of steamship tickets" rather than with filling jobs with contract, or cheap labor.

The labor movement, in contrast to industrial interests, was actively concerned about immigration. Miss Erickson shows that the first anti-contract labor laws were the work of a "highly specialized, a-typical group of craft workers," the Window Glass Workers, organized as Local Assembly 300 of the Knights of Labor. They sought support by playing upon the prejudices against "new immigrants," a fatal appeal as it turned out. Others in the Knights, and subsequently in other unions, responded to this racialist appeal because in strike after strike they were beaten with immigrant strike breakers. Immigrants, too, were blamed for "debasing" work, and for causing "mechanization." Again, such views blocked true understanding of the economic forces at work.

Miss Erickson, perhaps, is too harsh on the trade unions. Still, they did play a formative role in shaping the United States' prejudicial and restrictive immigration policies.

Epstein, Melech. *Jewish Labor in U.S.A.*, 1882-1914. Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, New York, 1950. 456 pages.

The Jewish population of New York in 1881-1882 numbered about 100,000, less than half were from Eastern Europe and the majority were small traders and peddlers. The mass immigration of Jews fleeing the poverty and pogroms of Eastern Europe changed the character of the Jewish community; the new majority worked at sewing machines, with flatirons, and in cigar factories, tinsmith shops, at carpentry and watch repairing. The "greenhorns" came in conflict with the older Jewish community, suddenly fearful of the *Ost Juden,* as well as Americanized German and Irish workers. The first cloakworkers' strike, for example, collapsed in part because of lack of support from the Cutters' Union, highly-skilled Germans and Irish without much sympathy for the "greenhorns." The immigrants defended themselves, as Epstein shows, through their radical politics, whatever variety of socialism or anarchism holding sway at a given time, which also served as a bridge to other groups of workers similiarly inclined. (Radical politics, in the form of factionalism, also served as a magnificent vehicle for conflict, and possibly for the discharge of hostility.) The Workmen's Circle, *The Jewish Daily Forward* and the garment unions were all instruments for survival in a new hostile world, and for adaption. As Epstein concludes, "Early in the second decade, the [Jewish labor] movement was young, unspoiled, daring and confident of its social mission, culturally, politically and individually. Jewish labor, traveling towards wider objectives, contributed majestically to labor in general and to society as a whole."

Erikson, Erik H. "Identity and Uprootedness in Our Time," *Insight and Responsibility.* W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 1964. pp. 83-107.

All immigration, or migration, entails the pulling up of roots, and, consequently, the need to create a new identity, or to assert the old one, possibly in an aggravated form. This brief discussion draws largely upon the psychological damage done by large-scale *enforced* migration. But the insights gained do cast some light upon migrant behavior, the way newcomers go about adapting themselves to new circumstances. As Dr. Erikson reminds us, "it takes a well-established identity to tolerate radical change."

Fairchild, Henry Pratt, *Greek Immigration to the United States.* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1911. 278 pp..

A history of Greek immigration, from 1883 (73 came) to 1909 (20,262 came). Most of the immigrants were men; in the peak year of 1907, when 46,283 Greeks arrived, only 1,636 were female. Large settlements of Greeks occured in Chicago and Lowell, where Greeks were strong in the candy and restaurant business, and in Lynn, Salem, Haverhill, Fall River, Massachusetts and Nashua and Manchester, New Hampshire, where Greeks were employed in cotton mills and shoe factories. The largest Greek "colony" was in New York, but it was less distinctive and centralized. Economic and social conditions of the Greeks in the United States at the time, early 1900s, are discussed in Chapters VIII., pp. 165-190, and Chapter IX., pp. 191-212. Interestingly, the author writes, "Greeks are apparantly not inclined to join trade unions, partly because there are comparatively few of them who are laborers in unionized trades, partly because they prefer their own organizations, and partly because they are not wanted by the unions."

Federal Writers' Project, *The Italians of New York.* Random House, New York, 1930. 241 pp.. See Chapter V, "Their Share in Building and Developing New York," p. 59-74.

A sympathetic though superficial account of New York City's vibrant Italian communities. However, there are bits of useful information in Chapter V.. For example, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is said to have had 100,000 Italian immigrants or American-born Italian-Americans out of a total New York area membership of 250,000. Italians, too, predominate in the bricklayers, stone masons, hod carriers, cement finishers, and terrazo workers locals of the building trades. Boot and Shoe Workers, Bakers, Longshoremen, and Musicians are other local unions with large Italian memberships.

Feldman, Herman, *Racial Factors in American Industry.* Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1931. See pp. 132-179.

A broad though brief sociological discussion of immigrant adjustment to American life. On page 133, the author notes, in 1920 the foreign-born constituted only 13 percent of the total population, yet included 36 percent of the men engaged in manufacturing, 45 percent of the men in mining, and 25 percent of the women in manufacture. In the leading industrial cities, foreign-born run higher than in non-industrial regions. In New York, foreign-born constituted 36.5 percent of the population; Cleveland, 31.4 percent; Chicago, 31.1 percent; Detroit, 30.4 percent; Lawrence, 41.4 percent; and Passaic, 41.3 percent. The author also cites a tradition of disparagement, going back to 1725, that sees the immigrant possessing low economic standards, poor living conditions, docile temperament -- and other undesirable traits. "And," writes the author, "that provides the setting for industrial attitudes which make the lot of the immigrant so much harder." There is good discussion of economic rivalry and of the hostility expressed towards immigrants. (See pp. 141-146.) And, a good quotation from a gravely-wounded Polish strike breaker in pointing out that mine union warnings were never received, (p. 144) and noting "We were constantly surrounded by guards, the majority of whom were Chicago bandits."

Fenton, Edward. "Italian Immigrants in the Stoneworkers' Union." *Labor History.* Spring, 1962. Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 188-207.

"Coal miners and laborers in the Knights of Labor denounced [Italian immigrants] as scabs and strikebreakers; garment workers called them unorganizable; brick layers and masons barred them from union ranks for more than a decade." Yet, Italian-American socialists and anarcho-syndicalists fostered organization among Italian garment workers, masons, barbers, bakers, and other crafts in New York City. Professor Fenton examines the history of the Granite Cutters' Union, strong and

militant, as well as the Journeymen Stone Cutters' International Association, a soft-stone workers group, weak and ineffectual, and concludes: The Italian workers' "acceptance or rejection of a union was not primarily a function of Italian mores. The decision depended upon. . .the relative prosperity of the industry, and the bargaining power of the unions." The greater strength of the Granite Cutters', incidentally, rested upon the strategic position held by highly skilled carvers and letterers. "Without them no one could produce the tombstones and monuments on which stone yards depended more and more for their prosperity."

Foerster, Robert F., *The Italian Emigration of Our Times.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1919. See pp. 320-341; 342-362.

In two brief chapters in a general work covering Italian emigration to all parts of the world, the author indicates the range of employment found by Italian immigrants in the United States. Many as skilled or semi-skilled workmen –– stone cutters, masons, boot blacks, barbers and cobblers, fishermen; others are found in industry as laborers in the metal and wood trades, textiles, clothing and as miners, construction workers and on the railways. The author, p. 356, cites the docks as an example of job displacement, with the Italians taking over from the Irish. The process on the New York waterfront began in 1887, and by 1912 the Italians predominate on the Chelsea, Hoboken, Bush Terminal and East River piers.

Fountain, Clayton W.. *Union Guy.* The Viking Press, New York, 1949. 242 pp. See especially Chapters 1 through 4, pp. 3-43.

We don't ordinarily think of a small town Michigan boy as an immigrant, an outsider in America. But auto worker Fountain, part Indian and born on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, tellingly entitles the second chapter of his autobiography, "Detroit Immigrant." What comes through is the amount of "drift" in a young worker's life. He shipped out for a time on the Great Lakes, bummed around the country and even worked briefly as a strikebreaker at the depths of the Depression. One senses, though this is not made explicit by Fountain, that his "uprootedness" brought him to the Communist Party, although other factors, such as the Party's role in the union, also played a role. For comparable periods in young workers' lives, see Oscar Ameringer's *If You Don't Weaken,* and James H. Maurer's, *It Can Be Done.*

Gamio, Manuel, *Mexican Immigration to the United States.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930. 262 pp.. See especially Chapter III, "The Mexican Immigrant Wage Earner," p. 30-50.

"Mexican immigrants in the United States fall into three labor groups: (1) unskilled laborers, (2) skilled laborers, and (3) tenant farmers or farmers on shares. Besides these are clerks, small merchants, artists, students, professional exiled politicians, and others, but their scant number eliminate them from the immigrant mass we consider our problem."

After examination of these three groups, the author concludes: "Mexican transient immigration is beneficial to both countries" while "permanent immigration is harmful." Beneficial because the United States cannot fill the demand for labor in certain regions for certain types of work while Mexico cannot offer better pay to its workers. Harmful because large scale immigration might set off racial conflicts in the United States and drain Mexico of its "best working population."

Ginsberg, Eli and Berman, Hyman. *The American Worker in the Twentieth Century.* The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1963. 368 pp. See especially Chapter IV, "Immigrants and Migrants: Life Histories," pp. 40-133.

"This is a book about wage earners written by wage earners." The first hand accounts about how workers live and think are backed by detailed analyses of the employment environment down through the years from 1890 to 1960. Anton Kmet, for example, (pp. 40-43) recalls ten to twelve hours a day in the steelmills, "You managed on $7.00 or $8.00 a week. . .*obertaim* [overtime meant $18.00 or $20.00] that was something to let the neighbors know about." Kmet bought a home, even dabbled in real estate and retired -- $21.40 a month from the U.S. Steel and Carnegie Pension Fund. (This was written in 1941). The check is a "fresh surprise" every month, for in the old country only "people who were educated and seemed to amount to something" got a pension, not laborers such as Tone Kmet. A Lithuanian meatpacker has a tougher time, and he is more class conscious. The union, he reports "is combining all the nationalities. (p. 51). The night I joined the Cattle Butchers' Union I was led into the room by a Negro member. With me were Bohemians, Germans, and Poles, and Mike Donnelly, the President, is an Irishman."

Ginsberg and Berman see "a continuity in the ways in which the American worker [seeks] to realize his aspirations and goals. He will aim to better himself when the job market offers the opportunities; he will look for gains through his trade union; he will press government for benefits that he cannot obtain through his own efforts or from his employer." Unfortunately, the "autobiographies" are not life stories, but fragments, and so one cannot tell if the authors' thesis holds up in any one life, or several worker lives.

Greeley, Andrew M.. *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* Institute of Human Relations Press, New York. Pamphlet Series, Number 12. 1969. 76 pp.

A popularized discussion of recent sociological findings and speculations about ethnicity in American life. Ethnic groups "have emerged in this country because members of various immigrant groups have tried to preserve something of the intimacy and familiarity of the peasant village during the transition into urban industrial living. These groups have persisted after the immigrant experience both because American society was not basically hostile to their persistence and because of an apparently very powerful drive in man toward associating with those who he believes possess the same blood and the same beliefs he does. The inclination toward such homogeneous groupings simultaneously enriches the culture, provides for diversity within the social structure, and considerably increases the potential for conflict. It may some day be possible to isolate ethnicity from suspicion and distrust, but no one has yet figured out the formula for doing so."

There isn't much in the pamphlet on ethnicity and labor but the reader may find it a handy review of current sociological thinking about inter-group relations, and find the concepts covered useful when looking at labor -- past and present.

Greene, Victor R., *The Slavic Community on Strike: Immigrant Labor in Pennsylvania Anthracite.* University of Notre Dame Press, 1968. 260 pp.

Many immigrants came to America with the idea that out of a higher income would come the savings that would enable them to return to the "Old Country," to acquire land and a greater social status. Calculated under consumption and communal modes were means for accomplishing this goal. By the same token, such practices roused the suspicions of native Americans and of Americanized immigrants. Thus, the Slav immigrants of Pennsylvania' coal regions were sometimes viewed by the neighbors as passive, malleable -- willing to work for any wage -- lacking in class consciounesss as well as dupes and strike breakers.

Professor Greene, however, convincingly argues that "far from weakening labor organization, the Polish, Lithuanian, Slovak and Ukranian mineworkers, their families, and their communities supported labor protest more enthusiastically than many other groups and were essential to the

establishment of unionism permanently in the coal fields." The Salvic community functioned as a unit imposing a harsh but effective discipline upon its members during crises. Professor Greene's book is an important contribution to the study of relatedness of ethnic and class solidarity.

Grob, Gerald N.. "Organized Labor and the Negro Worker, 1865-1900." *Labor History*, Spring, 1960. Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 164-176.

Immediately after the Civil War, black workers found partial acceptance, if not full equality, within the national labor organizations of the time, first in the National Labor Union, then the Knights of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor. Yet, increasingly, he faced segregation and ultimately exclusion from most, if not all, unions. Why did early hopes fade? Professor Grob finds part of the answer in the frustration of Southern Populism by Southern Conservatism. He concludes: "The rise of a segregated labor movement (or one that ignored the Negro) was simply a part of a larger development that came to characterize almost all areas of American life."

Gutman, Herbert G., "Five Letters of Immigrant Workers from Scotland to the United States, 1867-1869." *Labor History*, Fall, 1968, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 384-408.

"No immigrant group," comments Professor Gutman, "was better equipped by past experience to judge the particulars of the American industrial experience than the English, Welsh and Scottish miners migrating across the Atlantic in such large numbers between 1830 and 1900." Professor Gutman brings together five letters to illustrate this point, and to illustrate how the transition from pre-industrial to industrial society changed many men. Daniel M'lachlan (later McLaughlin), for example, wrote in 1869 "It's money I want; if I can get it for the earning honestly I will have it." Yet, within a few years, he became head of the Braidwood, Illinois, miners' union, and mayor on an independent labor reform ticket. William Latta, a blacksmith, writes "to own a house and a lot is the ambition of the American workman, which may be done, if employed with the savings of three or four years." It's a trait that has endured among American workers. The surprise is a letter from Allan Pinkerton, a former Glasgow cooper, turned sheriff and private detective. Pinkerton reveals himself as militantly pro-labor; however, as Professor Gutman notes, he did change, "evidence of the transformation from charterist to Horatio Alger. Even Samuel Smiles might have winced at this one."

Handlin, Oscar, *Boston's Immigrants.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959. See Chapter III., "The Economic Adjustment," pp. 54-87.

The most pressing concern of new immigrants or migrants is to find employment. And, the Irish who came to Boston through the 1840s and 1850s were no exception. "Thousands of poverty-stricken peasants, rudely transferred to an urban commercial center, could not readily become merchants or clerks; they had neither the training nor the capital to set up as shopkeepers or artisans." For a long time, concludes Harvard historian Handlin,"they were fated to remain a massive lump in the community, undigested, undigestible."

Day laborers and domestics —— these were the chief employment of the immigrant Irish. "None need apply but Americans," capped help wanted columns in the newspapers. The labor contractor in search of men, especially for the construction of railroads, introduced the Irish worker to another labor market. Natives found certain tasks disagreeable or harsh, so by 1850 more than 300 of the 877 smiths in Boston were Irish. Hostlers and stablers, too, were predominantly Irish; the beginnings of Irish dominance among teamsters and transit workers. A construction boom gave the Irish skilled employment, even though only for a minority. Handlin examines the economic adjustment of the immigrant Irish from these meagre beginnings down to the Civil War years when economic expansion and a shortage of labor forced employers into "harried efforts to attract new immigrants."

Handlin, Oscar, *Race and Nationality in American Life.* Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1957. 300 pp.. See Especially Chapter V, "Old Immigrants and New", p. 93-138.

Professor Handlin takes a fresh and critical look at the Immigration Commission's 1910 42 volume report. Beginning with preconceived ideas, Professor Handlin declares, the Commission bent the evidence to fit those ideas and as a result "offered an unsound basis for the legislation that followed." If the reader wants to know in a hurry what was wrong with the Commission and its findings, Professor Handlin does the job.

Handlin, Oscar. *The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis.* Harvard University Press, 1959/Doubleday Anchor, 1962. 177 pp.

Historian Oscar Handlin concludes in this well-documented study of the progress and problems of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York City that the newcomers have "assumed the role formerly played by European immigrants." But their experience diverges from that earlier experience "because color prejudice and the social and economic conditions they encountered impeded their freedom of movement, both in space and in social and economic status." The author is optimistic about the future, counting on the newcomer's will and energy, and tolerance on the part of their neighbors, to break the "circular pattern of frustration" of color prejudice, low income, sporadic and low income job opportunities and limited education that currently contains the newest migrants.

Hansen, Marcus Lee, *The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1940. 391 pp..

The emphasis is on why people came, the forces in Europe that pushed emigration and the attractions, as viewed from Europe, that pulled the immigrants westward across the Atlantic. See especially, Chapter VII., "America Becomes the Common Man's Utopia," pp. 146-171, for a discussion that bears directly upon the subsequent course of the immigrants' entry into the American labor market. This is largely pre-industrial, and the greatest factor affecting emigration is the availability of land. "With two or three years' savings the industrious workman could buy a farm already cleared and provided with the necessary buildings." Professor Hansen closes his book with an account of "the great migration" from Germany and Ireland, and prophetically on a sombre note. The news from the New World was no longer of cheap land and golden opportunities but of wage cuts, unemployment and hunger demonstrations. Professor Hansen's book deals with beginnings, and is an important contribution to an understanding of emigration.

Hapgood, Hutchins, *The Spirit of the Ghetto.* New edition, preface and notes by Harry Golden. Funk & Wagnalls Company, Inc., New York, 1959. 330 pp..

For many immigrants, their introduction to America and to work came through the "ghetto," using the word to denote a section of the city that is occupied mostly out of economic necessity by an immigrant or migrant group. Although Hutchins Hapgood, a journalist and gentile, gathered the material for this book in 1901, shortly before the great mass of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, his insights stand up remarkably well.

Another edition carries a valuable scholarly introduction by Moses Rischin and is also illustrated by Epstein.The Belnap Press of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1967. 315 pp.

Hoglund, A. William, *Finnish Immigrants in America – 1880-1920.* The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1960. 212 pp..

A hsitory of the immigration and acculturation of Finns to America. For a discussion of the Finnish "associative spirit" and socialism and trade unionism among Finnish immigrants see

pp. 56-59 and 71-79. Finns played a prominent role in the socialist movement, the Minnesota iron strike of 1907 and the copper strike of 1913 in Michigan.

Hourwich, Isaac A., *Immigration and Labor.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1912. 544 pp..

This is the classic attack on the findings of the 42-volume *Reports of the Immigration Commission,* which unanimously recommended restriction of Immigration. Popular prejudice against the new immigrants, argues Professor Hourwich, justified an unbiased study of their social and economic conditions. But, he adds, the Commission's findings were infused with "popular sentiment."

The Commission, for example, found that the number of recent immigrants "so great . . .[as to] create an oversupply of labor." Moreover, the immigrant, accustomed to a lower standard of living is, therefore able to underbid and displace the American Workman." If this were so, argues Professor Hourwich, "we should find. . .a higher percentage of unemployment among the native than among the foreign born breadwinners." Statistics, however, show the proportion of unemployment the same. Immigration in truth rises and falls with the ups and downs of the business cycle.

In addition to a critical examination of the Industrial Commission reports, Professor Hourwich compares the old and new immigration, immigration and the labor market, standard of living, home ownership and the effect of immigration on wages, hours of labor, child labor and trade union growth. "Greatest progress coincides with the great tide of immigration," Professor Hourwich concludes. He also examines immigrants in leading industries —— garment workers, cotton mills, woolen mills, iron and steelworkers, and coal miners; devoting a chapter to each.

Howe, Irving, "The Significance of the Jewish Labor Movement." *The Jewish Labor Movement in America.* Jewish Labor Committee, New York, May, 1958. pp. 19-28.

". . .by contrast to other immigrant groups one of the unique features of Jewish immigrant life was that the Jews brought over with them a relatively full and developed culture." There also "arose a unique social group in this country (to my knowledge no other ethnic constituent of American society produced a similiar group), the *intellectualized worker."* Because of these two factors, not entirely but in part, Howe argues, that "The American Jewish labor movement served as a civilizing and cosmopolitanizing influence upon the American labor movement as a whole." Howe also notes in passing another important point: that is, "the whole of Jewish socialism in this country, the whole of the Jewish labor movement. . .can be regarded as a sign of the painful adjustment of old-world expectations to new-world conditions." He views this as a "terrible vulgarization" but one with "an element of truth in it." The labor movement, in this context, is a "transitional step toward worldly success" and contributed to the process of adaptation and assimilation.

Hutchinson, E.P., *Immigrants and Their Children – 1850-1950.* John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1956. 391 pp..

Professor Hutchinson updates Professor Niles Carpenter's earlier 1920 monograph, providing much more detailed information about the occupational distribution of the foreign-born broken down by periods —— 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910 to 1950. There is, of course, more data and analysis of the second generation, pointing up a trend away from the occupations of the immigrant generations.

Ichihashi, Yamato, *Japanese in the United States.* Stamford University Press, Stamford, 1932. 426 pp..

A history of the Japanese immigration to the United States that points up the foolishness of our exclusionist policy. Chapters eight (8) through eleven (11), p. 107-177, examine how

and where the Japanese entered the American labor market. The first immigrants worked in a gold mine, subsequent Japanese immigrants found jobs as farm laborers, domestics and in railroad construction, the canneries, lumber mills, mining and fisheries of the West Coast.

Immigration Commission – *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission,* 2 Vols., Washington Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1911. 900 pp..

Abstracts of the Findings of the Immigration Commission carried in full in 42 volumes. On the whole, the findings are weighted to conform to the Commission's bias towards restriction –– "care should be taken that immigration be such both in quality and quantity as not to make too difficult the process of assimilation." Still, there is a wealth of raw material in each report and the abstracts are handy summaries.

Of particular interest: Abstract – *Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining,* Vol. 1, p. 287-541; *Occupations of First and Second Generation of Immigrants,* Vol. 1, p. 775-838; "Contract labor and Induced and Assisted Immigration," Vol. II, p. 371-386; "The Greek Padrone System," Vol. II, p. 387-408; "Peonage," Vol. II, pp. 439-449; "Federal Immigration Legislation," Vol. II, p. 557-584. Of the 42 volumes, Vols. VI through XXV, are devoted to immigrants in industries –– Vols. VI – VII, Bituminous Coal; VIII – IX, Iron & Steel; Vol. X, Cotton Goods in North Atlantic States; Vol. XI, Silk Goods, Clothing, Collar, Cuff and Shirt Manufacturing; Vol. XII, Leather, boot and shoe, glove manufacturing; Vol. XIII, Slaughtering and meat packing; Vol. XIV, Glass, agricultural implement and vehicle manufacturing, Vol. XV, Cigar and tobacco, furniture and sugar refining; Vol. XVI, Copper, iron and anthracite mining; Vol. XVII, Diversified industries; Vol. XVIII, Diversified industries, the floating immigrant supply; Vols. XIX and XX., Summary Report on Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining; Vols. XXI and XXII, Recent Immigrants in Agriculture; Vols. XXIII to XXV, Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States.

Interchurch World Movement, Commission of Inquiry, *Report on the Steel Strike of 1919.* Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920. 277 pp..

The Ethnic flavor of the 1919 steel strike is best captured in the excerpts from an investigator's notebook of interviews with strikers about their family budget (pp. 110-118.) Altogether 54 nationalities worked at the Homestead plant of the U.S. Steel Co., which was exceptional only in the large numbers of "Americans," black and white, present and the small proportions of Slavs, Greeks, and Italians. (Table on 133.) The divisions between the 24 unions engaged in the struggle were exacerbated by ethnic distrust, Negroes were imported as strikebreakers, and that did not help matters. See pp. 177-182 for a discussion of ethno-union divisions and their impact on the strike. The Interchurch Report is invaluable source material on ethnic conflict within a major industry.

Jaffe, A.J. and Stewart, Charles D., *Manpower Resources and Utilization.* John Wiley & Son, New York, 1951. See Chapter 17, "Migration and the Working Force," pp. 319-340.

The authors view migration as redistributing manpower; "generally, but not always. . . from areas of fewer economic opportunities to those of more opportunities, either real or imagined." After a review of historical trends, the authors conclude that immigration made for a more flexible work force, providing additional manpower at times and in places needed by a rapidly expanding economy.

Internal migration, now that immigration has been slowed, "is today a necessary, if not sufficient, condition to the attainment of full employment."

Jacobson, Julius, editor. *The Negro and the American Labor Movement.* Anchor Books: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1968. 430 pp.

This uneven collection suffers from a bias against the organized labor movement. Yet, interesting nuggets of information may be picked out from such essays as August Meier's and Elliott Rudwick's "Attitudes of Negro L eaders Toward the American Labor Movement from the Civil War to World War I," pp. 27-48, and out of the debate between Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary to the NAACP, and Gus Tyler, Assistant President of the ILGWU. Herbert G. Gutman contributes a major study in his examination of the career and letters of Richard L. Davis, a black miner and UMW leader in the 1890s. ("The Negro and the United Mine Workers of America," pp. 49-127.) By 1900, 10 to 15 percent of the nation's 400,000 coal miners were black, many (roughly 20,000) belonged to "mixed" locals of the mine union. Davis, who organized black and white miners, had no easy time of it, and died of "lung fever" at age 35. Gutman's essay gives the reader a glimpse of what it must have been like to be a working-class black in a key industry. Roy Marshall in "The Negro in Southern Unions," pp. 128-154, provides a handy review of developments in the South.

Jenks, Jeremiah W. and Lauck, W. Jett., *The Immigration Problem.* Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1926. 717 pp..

Based largely upon the 42-volume Report of the U.S. Immigration Commission, the authors relfect the bias of those reports against the "new" and for the "old" immigration. For example, finding that the percentage of farm laborers and common laborers higher among the "new" (60%) as against that of the "old" leads the authors to conclude "that the new immigration is much more difficult to assimilate than the old, because of these characteristics of occupation." This book perhaps ought to be read in conjunction with the salutory volume by Isaac Hourwitz.

Korman, Gerd, *Industrialization, Immigrants, and Americanizers:* The View from Milwaukee, 1866-1921. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1967. 225 pp.

Professor Korman scrutinizes the absorption of concurrent and successive waves of immigrants —— Germans, Poles, Italians, Hungarians, etc. —— by industry in Milwaukee. He reports (p. 65), "The various nationality groups. . .were not permitted to carry their antagonisms into the shop, for workers who argued among themselves posed a threat to internal discipline." Workers, however, were often hired by ethnic groupings, as in the chipping room at International Harvester's foundry where an Italian foreman hired only fellow Italian immigrants and a Scottish-born foreman believed Poles to be the best workers, so only Poles worked under him at the foundry.

"Peace in the shop," writes Kerman (p. 66), "was obtained, at least, in part, either by preserving the stereotyped ethnic pecking order or by allowing ethnic connections to govern employment practices." The Pabst Brewing Company, for example, staffed most of its departments with Germans, and hired non-Germans, usually Polish girls, only for the most unskilled tasks. In most companies, the assistant foreman, or straw boss was responsible for preserving ethnic employment patterns.

Kornbluh, Joyce L. "Bread and Roses: The 1912 Lawrence Textile Strike," *Rebel Voices: an I. W.W. Anthology.* The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1964. pp. 158-196.

As Mrs. Kornbluh notes in her introduction, "Lawrence was a new kind of strike, the first time such a large number of unskilled, unorganized foreign-born workers had followed the radical leadership of the I.W.W." Her introductory comments and the selections that follow give an account of that strike. Of particular interest to the student of ethnic relations is the account of Fred E. Beal, "Strike," pp. 176-178. He reports of an I.W.W. street corner meeting before the strike, for ex-

ample, that the Irish workers did not like the speaker, while the Italians did. So, class solidarity apparently did not pull *all* the workers together, at least not at first.

Kuznets, Simon and Rubin, Ernest, *Immigration and the Foreign Born.* National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., New York, 1954.

Immigration rises and falls with the business cycle. The authors note, "the number of arrivals increases in prosperity and falls in depressions." Departures follow an opposite course, "falling in prosperity and rising in depressions." After studying both phenomena, the authors conclude, that the "foreign labor supply under conditions of free in-out flow, might well be regarded as a sort of stabilizing reservoir moderating the business cycle."

Lasker, Bruno, *Filipino Immigration.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1931. 439 pp.. See, Chapters VI-VIII., pp. 41-91.

The author discusses the movement of Filipinos, largely confined to the West Coast, into the menial occupations in culinary, institutional and domestic employment, migrant farm workers, in the Alaskan fish canneries, and in other industries. He finds "the tendency of Filipino wage earners to undercut American wage standards and to create unemployment is real but limited." But one is not sure that the author proves the point. He does note, however, that the Filipinos arrived in the United States at a time of a great labor shortage. This would belie the point made about creating unemployment. No doubt the "cheapness" of Filipino labor did improve "the competitive position" of their employers in the food and related industries. But it doesn't follow that this circumstance depressed wages.

Leiserson, William M., *Adjusting Immigrant and Industry.* Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1924. 356 pp..

Professor Leiserson asks, then proceeds to answer two fundamental questions: "How do the common experiences of gaining a livelihood in American industry develop unity of mind between native born and immigrant employees? How do the mutual adjustments that have to be made between the immigrant and his fellow-workers and employers bring them all into a united American citizenship?"

To answer his basic questions, Professor Leiserson discusses now an immigrant finds work, how they get training, the conditions of work they face, and how employers handle immigrant workers. He devotes a chapter to typical trade union experiences with immigrant workers, pp. 185-214, in the mines, packing houses, iron and steel mills, and in textiles. In this work, Professor Leiserson views the trade unions as "Americanization Agencies," and therefore a positive factor in American life.

Levine, Louis, *The Women's Garment Workers.* B. W. Huebsch, Inc. 1924. 608 pages.

The classic history of the early days of trade unionism among women's garment workers, and of the rise of the International Ladies' Garment Worker's Union. Of special interest is Chapter V, "Intellectuals and Workers," pp. 22-31, which examines the role of anarchist and socialist intellectuals in the establishment of trade unionism among Jewish immigrant workers. That radicalism was frequently divisive is clear; feuds between radical factions adversely affected none too sturdy infant unions. But as shown in Levine's account of the "Uprising of the T wenty Thousand" radicalism was an invaluable means of crossing ethnic lines. Organization was difficult in an industry where workers were divided by language and culture -- Jewish (55%), Italian (35%) and "natives" (7%). It was, for isntance, the Italian branch of the Socialist Party that helped to keep the Italian-speaking women out on strike.

Lord, Eliot; Trenor, John J. D.; Barrows, Samuel J., *The Italians in America.* B. F. Buck & Co., New York, 1905. 268 pp..

An account of the then swelling tide of Italian immigration. Noting that the Italians' first introduction to the labor market occurs in the larger cities and often in unskilled lines of work, the authors argue against the prevailing belief of the time that immigrants take away jobs from "native" Americans. "Instead of taking away the jobs and reducing the number of American native workmen employed, there is not a single instance in which the influx has not operated to enlarge the demand for American skilled labor and increase the number of skilled American workmen actually employed." (p. 161.)

Marshall, Ray, *The Negro and Organized Labor.* John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1965. 327 pp..

"Few forces," Ray Marshall writes (p. 20), "have been as potent in changing race relations as the unionization and migration of Negroes." Industrialization in the United States "was accompanied by large-scale migration from farms to cities, into which poured largely unskilled and poorly educated workers to supplement the diminishing stream of immigrants from Europe." In contrast to only 12% in 1910 and 26% in 1930, by 1964 over half of all American blacks lived outside the Southern states, and in 1962, 93 per cent of employed blacks worked outside agriculture.

Once blacks became employed in industry, Marshall argues, "unions either had to lower their racial barriers or watch their working conditions deteriorate." Many equivocated or compromised, but "these compromises did bring increasing numbers of Negroes into the 'house of labor' " where they were able to open the door still wider.

The migration of black workers to the North, Professor Marshall writes, "created great resentment. . .especially when Negroes were transferred North by employers to be used either as strike breakers, as cheap labor, or in an effort to avert the unionization of their enterprises."

Professor Marshall's book is a useful study of the factors within labor and the black community responsible for the evolution of trade union racial practices.

McSorley, Edward, *Our Own Kind.* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1946. 304 pp..

Novelist Edward McSorley tells the story of the McDermotts —— Irish, Catholic and Iron moulders. Of special interest is Chapter 44, pp. 279-289, which touches on the relations between the Irish and the Italians, a riot on Federal Hill and the entry of the Italians into the foundry and into the Iron Moulders Union. See pp. 285-287 for the convention fight over letting machines in the foundry, and Italians into the union. Ned McDermott to the convention delegates: "And where in the hell would you be, then, if the Eyetalian Pope, God bless him, took it into his head one fine day to bar you out of *his* union? Well!"

Menes, Abraham, "The East Side: Matrix of the Jewish Labor Movement." *Jewish Life in America,* edited by Theodore Friedman and Robert Gordis. Horizon Press, New York, 1955. pp. 131-154.

The author comments that the accusation levelled against the Jewish immigrants at the turn of the century that they themselves were to blame for the intolerable working conditions in the sweatshops "was not entirely unfounded." The workers, he explains, wished to work long hours and earn a little more "to hasten the day when they would bring their families to America." The garment workers of the East Side "provided their kin with more than mere passage money; they also secured

for them opportunities to earn their livelihood." Socialism and trade unions were both a hope and a means of achieving dignity in a sweatshop world. The strike, notes the author, "was frequently a way of expressing their protest against a form of society that tried to transform the laborer into a robot." In sum, "The East Side demonstrated that there can be dignity in poverty."

Mills, C. Wright; Senior, Clarence; and Goldsen, Rose. *The Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrant.* Harper and Bros., 1950. 238 pp.

A pioneer field study of Puerto Rican migrants to New York City by a research team of the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University in 1948. Valuable for its application of basic sociological concepts such as "adaptation," cultural and language differences and their influence on the progress and problems of the migrants, including their entry into the labor market. The study also contains data on occupational and income, as well as on family, sex, education, etc.. The two major Puerto Rican communities in the City at that time were examined by the research team. A majority of those in the labor force were found to belong to unions.

Mitchell, John, *Organized Labor.* American Book and Bible House, New York, 1903. See Chapter XXI, "The Immigrant and the Living Wage." pp. 176-185.

The president of the United Mine Workers of America argues the unions' case for the restriction of immigration. "The efforts made by steamship companies to incite and over-stimulate the immigration of thousands of illiterate peasants tend to inject unnaturally into the American labor market a body of men unskilled, untrained, and unable to resist oppression and reduced wages."

Montgomery, David, "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial American City, 1780-1830." *Labor History,* Winter, 1968. Vol. 9, No. 1. p. 3-22.

Professor Montgomery examines the working classes of four cities -- Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore -- and makes tentative observations about the character of the pre-industrial labor supply. Native Americans migrating from Northeastern farms and European immigrants swelled the urban populace. In many ways, their situation was fluid. Apprenticed youths frequently fled their masters after a year or so, readily finding employment as half-trained workmen at substandard wages. America, suggests Professor Montgomery, was "a land of opportunity for handicraftsmen whose skills were being undermined by the industrial revolution in England but still in high demand in the more backward American economy." The craftsman-immigrant, however, was not the veteran artisan but the mobile youth who spurned British factories to ply his family trade in a new country. The Scottish carpet weavers, for example, tried in Connecticut for a strike conspiracy were all 22 years of age or less. At the same time, American laborers were paid at higher rates than their English counterparts, or their rustic contemporaries, and were more versatile than "ply for life" skilled tradesmen. "To move from the sea to canal digging to hod carrying to factory work was well within the realm of possibility." The author concludes that "our concern with the fate of agrarian values has led us to ignore the impact of the spreading factory system on the cultural heritage of urban America's lower orders."

Myrdal Gunnar. *An American Dilemma.* Harper and Brothers, New York, 1944. 1481 pp. See pp. 67-73, "Relationships Between Lower Class Groups;" Chapter 8, "Migration," pp. 182-201; Chapter 13, "Seeking Jobs Outside Agriculture," pp. 279-303; Chapter 18, "Pre-War Labor Market Controls and Their Consequences for the Negro," pp. 397-408; and, Appendix 6, "Pre-War Conditions or the Negro Wage Earner in Selected Industries and Occupations," pp. 1079-1124.

This classic study of the Negro in America contains a wealth of material that bears on Negro as an immigrant, and as an internal migrant. Negroes, argues Myrdal, "are held apart from whites by caste, which furnishes a formidable bar to mutual identification and solidarity." He also points out that the rise in Negro migration to the North followed the stopping of mass immigration from Europe although other factors -- mechanization and economic stagnation -- are at work. "The Negro, along with the Southern white worker, actually was the 'last immigrant' to the North." Large employment gains for the Negro are linked to economic expansion. While noting that Negroes. "past experiences with trade unions have been none too good in most cases," Myrdal reports that the increasing power of the labor unions [in the 1940s remember], and particularly their rising importance for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, is to the Negroes "one of the most magnificent of all recent changes in the institutional framework of the American economy."

Nelli, Humbert S. "The Italian Padrone System in the United States." *Labor History*, Spring, 1964. Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 153-167.

Most, if not all Italian immigrants coming to this country in the years following 1880 were introduced to the labor market by a padrone. (The exception appears to be among the Italians of San Francisco.) The padrone provided pick-and-shovel labor for the railroads and construction work, and in the last years of the nineteenth century, men for city water works and street cleaning departments. In the East, padroni, in some instances, provided skilled masons, carpenters, stonecutters and machinists. The commission paid to the padroni varied from $1.00 to $10.00 per man, depending on length of employment, wages, etc.. The system was open to many abuses; e.g. Nelli gives a table of prices charged in a "shanty," or commissary run by a padrone, which are two and three times the market price: Macaroni at 10¢ when the market price was 3¢ a pound, etc.

The 1890's were the golden era of the padrone, and by 1907 the system had declined. Immigrant protective leagues and societies pressured for reforms, and Italian workers learned English and became more familiar with the labor market. The padrone system was the price the newcomer paid for his strangeness, and as the author concludes, "as depressing as conditions were in padrone camps, they were not as bad as the situation which the laborers had left behind in Southern Italy."

Palmore, Erdman E.. "Introduction of Negroes Into White Departments," *in Unions and Union Leadership.* Edited by Jack Barbash. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959. pp. 337-340.

Four cases of integration in a large Chicago meatpacking plant, showing a similiar pattern: initial hostility followed by gradual acceptance. These findings, the author concludes, "support the hypothesis that in such situations contact between whites and Negroes tends to reduce prejudice." Actually, the author's evidence is skimpy but there is some very good anecdotal material here illustrating the point.

Panunzio, Constantine M., *The Soul of An Immigrant.* The MacMillan Company, New York, 1921. 329 pp..

This autobiography of a South Italian sailor lad who arrived in this country in 1902 -- "of immigration laws I had not even a knowledge of their existence" -- describes how a youth without friends, without knowledge of English finds his way into the immigrant community of Boston's North End, his first job and otherwise makes his way in the new world. See Chapter IV., pp. 65-99, for a vivid account of Panunzio's introduction to the labor market.

Papashivly, George and Helen Waite, *Anything Can Happen.* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1945. See Chapter III., "The Man Without Manners," p. 23-37.

Immigrants and migrants were sometimes exploited as strike breakers. With wry humour, the Papashivlys tell it like it must have been on many occasions. The unknowing greenhorn enticed into the factory with the promise of high wages only to discover his being used as a strikebreaker. In this instance, everything -- relatively speaking -- turns out well; in many others, the consequences were tragic. Still, the Papashivly account is revealing.

Parker, Carleton H. *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays,* Harcourt, Brace and Howe. New York, 1920. 199 pp.. See Chapter II, "The Casual Laborer," p. 61-89; and Appendix, "The Hop Fields Report," pp. 171-199.

The migrant, or casual laborer, moves through American history pretty much as he does in harvesting the land, unnoticed and scorned. His exploitation is perhaps more efficiently organized in California than anywhere else in the land. Labor camps have existed in California agriculture for over fifty years now. Parker reports 175,000 in casual-using occupations, and of these 75,000 were farm laborers "working out." (1910 census.) His essay, "The Casual Laborer" is an overview of California conditions written in 1915; the appendix contains a report made by Parker to the Governor on the conditions leading up to the 1913 Wheatland Hop Fields Riot, a strike organized by the I.W.W.. Reading Parker in the light of recent events -- the grape workers' boycott -- one is struck by two things: First, wages and working conditions, relatively, have not changed much, being as bad now as then and: Second, the change in the ethnic composition of the workforce, now largely Mexican-Americans, Philipinos, and then, according to Parker, one third -- men and boys from nearby towns and the wives and children from various strata of the middle class; another third, "families from the Sierra foothills, quasi-gypsies with carts or ramshackle wagons;" and, the last third, the migratories -- "the pure hobo, or his California example, the 'fruit tramps'; Hindus, and a large body of Japanese."

Park, Robert E. and Miller, Herbert A., *Old World Traits Transplanted.* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1921. See Chapter VII. and Chapter VIII., pp. 145-259.

Although written from an assimilationist point of view, with its judgment of "Inferior" and "superior" cultures, this is a fascinating discussion of immigrant communities in America. "The immigrants here tend to reproduce spontaneously the home community and to live in it," note the authors. Incidentally, there is a great map (p. 146) of the "Bowery Colony," now known as Little Italy, a cluster of streets north of Canal and West of the Bowery in Manhattan, that shows how Italians from various provinces, even cities, clustered together.

For summaries of some of the most important points in the book (e.g., immigrant types and the value of immigrant organizations) and the dispute about the authorship of the book see W.I. Thomas, *On Social Organization and Social Personality.* Morris Janowitz, ed. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1966. 311 pp..

Perlman, Selig, "The Anti-Chinese Agitation in California." *History of Labour in the United States,* Volume II. Commons, *et al.* The MacMillan Company, New York, 1918. pp. 252-268.

A discussion of the anti-Chinese agitation, which began among unemployed workers in the 1870s, gained support from various small manufacturers and culminated in the Exclusion Law of 1882. Perlman calls it "the most important single factor in the history of American labour, for without it the entire country might have been overrun by Mongolian labour, and the labour move-

ment might have become a conflict of races instead of one of classes." an "iffy" question at best, however, Perlman's account ably dissects the forces at work at the time.

Petersen, William, *The Politics of Population.* Anchor Books, Double-Day and Company, Inc., New York, 1964. 350 pp.. See in particular second half, "Migration and Acculturation," p. 195-338.

In a series of trenchant essays, Professor Petersen exposes the nonsense behind the "scientific" basis of our immigration policy, discusses acculturation and group prejudice, religious statistics in the United States, suggests a general typology of migration, and discusses internal migration and economic development.

Internal migration, writes Professor Petersen, "is the most important determinant of population size and composition." Yet it is the least understood demographic factor (page 291). The internal migration of Negroes "has been analagous to the pre-1914 immigration of Southern and Eastern Europeans." In both cases, "the shift was from a frequently rural background to low-income jobs in manufacturing and domestic service in the metropolitan centers." Some have suggested that migration makes for homogenation; reducing, for example, the differences in wage rates *and* between regions. But, adds Professor Petersen, "Nothing in the present scene suggests that [the] interaction between change and stability is about to be resolved in favor of either."

Petersen, William, *Population.* The MacMillan Company, New York, 1967. 652 pp. See: Chapter 5, "American Immigration Policy," pp. 86-113; Chapter 6, "The Development of a National Population," pp. 114-152; Chapter 7, "Internal Migration," pp. 153-178; and Chapter 20, "The General Determinants of Migration," pp. 592-621.

Invaluable background for any examination of immigration and migration. "The mass movement from Europe in the nineteenth century was on a scale new in human history. Of the 67-million persons who crossed from 1800 to 1950, some 60-million were Europeans, and of these two out of every three went to the United States." In Chapter 5, the author reviews critically the debate over the alleged differences between "Old and New Immigrants", a debate that was won by restrictionists on "racist" grounds -- really religious grounds. While many, "old immigrants" were Catholic, a vast majority were not, while the "new immigrants" were almost all either Catholic or Jewish. One complaint, cited by Petersen, against the "new" was that they "avoided agricultural pursuits." As Petersen wryly notes, "one might suppose that they had a choice." Fact is later immigrants arrived at a time when the labor force in agriculture was declining; native-born farmers were migrating to the cities; and at a time when the rapidly expanding economy needed, not skilled workers (another thing held against the "new" was their alleged lack of skills) but a fluid pool of unskilled labor.

Immigration, argues the author, helped to keep the American class structure loose; each succeeding wave, so to speak, shoving the preceeding one up the ladder another step. Total assimilation, however, "is possible only if nationalities are randomly distributed among all occupations; for to the degree that the contrary is the case, variation by ethnic background tends to persist in the form of class differences." (p. 137).

Internal migration falls into two broad categories -- to the countryside (free land in the West earlier, and to suburbia more recently) and into the cities. Petersen sees the Northward migration, though smaller in absolute size than the Westward migration, as possibly more significant because of the possible long-run effects of Negro dispersion on race relations. However, in concentrating on particular migratory streams, Petersen warns us against losing sight of the fact that the United States is "a society in motion, that each year one-sixth to one-fifth of the population moves to another house." (p. 176).

In the last chapter, Petersen discusses the typology of migration, noting (p. 592) "A migration means. . .not merely a shift of a certain number of undifferentiated persons from one place to another, but also a change in the occupational and population structure of both countries or regions."

Readers wishing to explore aspects of population other than migration will find Petersen's book a useful overview.

The Pittsburgh Survey, *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh,* Vol. 6 of The Pittsburgh Survey, Edit. by Paul Kellogg, 1914. See II "Race studies," pp. 33-112.

At the time of the Survey, roughly one-quarter of the population of Pittsburgh was foreign-born. The Italians tended to go into construction, railroad work and the mines; the Magyar, Slav and Lithuanian into the plants and yards. "When prosperity is at flood, . . . the cry is: 'Give us men.' A foreman, therefore, will assure Pietro and Melukos that if brothers or cousins or friends are sent for, they will get work as soon as they arrive." Immigrants have become foremen, report the authors, and "They employ their fellow-countrymen. They know the condition of the labor market and can by suggestion stimulate or retard immigration." This volume carries a chapter on the Slav wage earners, the Russians and a study of one hundred Negro wage earners.

Poole, Ernest, *The Harbor,* The MacMillan Company, New York, 1915. See: especially: pp. 305-351.

In this fictional account of a waterfront strike, we see how a common cause can draw men of various "nationalities" together. But we also sense how fragile a thing solidarity may be in time of stress. Ethnic tensions continuously erupt at union meetings, and the employers bring in Negroes to break the strike. "Bitter things were said against 'coons,' not only 'scabs,' but 'all of 'em, God damn 'em.' "

Ramirez, Raul, "Slim Picking; Migrant Farm Hands Strain for $1 an Hour Harvesting Cucumbers." *The Wall Street Journal,* September 19, 1969. pp. 130.

"The migrants at my camp came mostly from three distinct groups: Mexican-American families that make a yearly circuit from Florida; white Americans who head north from Tennessee and Kentucky in their dilapidated autos each summer in search of temporary work; and rootless single men who roam the country side working long enough at each stop to buy food and drink." Reporter Ramirez reports from a Michigan migrant camp, "an existence that a young single man can endure. For families it is grim." A family of nine crowds into a 9' x 12' cabin.

Reid, Ira De A., *The Negro Immigrant.* Columbia University Press, New York, 1939. 261 pp..

A study of the Caribbean immigrant -- black, English, French and Spanish-speaking -- to the United States, from 1899 to 1937. Primarily a movement of future male industrial workers and female domestics, "the foreign-born Negro brings into the American occupational picture skills and experiences for which little or no opportunity is provided for Negroes in the United States save in the limited occupational field of racial services." A high proportion -- one-third to one-fourth admitted since 1923 -- were skilled artisans. See pp. 83-84 and p. 122 for the role of the foreign-born in trade unions. Also, see pp. 196-202 and 210-213, for personal accounts of the foreign-born Negro's entry into the job market.

Riis, Jacob A., *The Children of the Poor.* Charles Scribner' Sons. New York, 1892. 300 pp.. See especially Chapter VI, "The Little Toilers," pp. 92-117.

The children of the immigrant poor suffer greatly, as Jacob A. Riis shows in this classic study. "Poverty and child labor are yoke-fellows everywhere. Their union is perpetual, indissoluble." (p. 92.) Despite child labor laws barring the employment of children under fourteen, many immigrants began work, entered the labor market as children in the sweatshops of the 1890s. The laws, reports Riis, are "barriers of paper." Much of this was possible because of "homework;" a surprising variety of trades, from cigar rolling to sewing, was carried on at home in the tenements. Little Susie, an Italian girl, pastes linen on tin covers for pocket flashes, -- two hundred "before evening school, earning 60 cents," "more than mother," who sews "knee-pants" for a "seventy" at "a cent and a-quarter a pair." The husband is out of work. And, so it went -- "Jewish, Italian, and Bohemian, the story is the same always."

Occasionally, Riis gives flashes into what may have been ethnic conflicts, "Where the crowds are greatest and the pay poorest, the Italian laborer's wife and child have found their way in since the strikes among the sweater's Jewish slaves, outbidding even these in the fierce strife for bread." (p. 97). Mostly, it is a grim rundown of what it was like to be an immigrant child at the turn of the century.

Riis, Jacob A., *How the Other Half Lives.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. 304 pp..

This is the classic account of immigrant life among the tenements of New York City at the turn of the century. Writing of the cosmopolitan character of lower Manhattan, Riis states, "One may find for the asking an Italian, a German, a French, African, Spanish, Bohemian, Russian, Scandinavian, Irish, and Chinese colony." Riis looks into them all, and describes how they live -- and to a lesser extent how they earn their livelihoods.

Rischin, Moses, "The Jewish Labor Movement in America." *Labor History,* Fall, 1963. Vol. 4, No. 3. pp. 227-247.

Paying tribute to Samuel Gompers and the "craft-proud" American Federation of Labor, the author writes, "it was no mean achievement to weld the disparate elements of the 'old' immigration into a coherent labor organization at a time when British-America, German-America, and Irish-America stood at the high tide of hyphenconsciousness." Yet, "The leaders of the Jewish labor movement, rather than the officers of the A.F. of L., were destined to extend the bounds of Americaness to include the 'new' immigrants. Hovering strategically between the 'old' and the 'new' immigrants, they were the natural promoters of inclusive as opposed to exclusive unions." The author also points out that "in the 1920s the labor movement rather than politics provided the chief avenue to leadership for the foreign born and their sons." These were the years, too, when the Jewish led garment unions were "acutely sensitive to the challenge of an ethnically heterogeneous membership," years when both the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union newspapers were published in many languages -- *Justice* in Yiddish, English, Italian, French, and later in Spanish; *Advance* in Yiddish, English, Italian, French, Bohemian, Polish, Lithuanian and Russian. The author concludes, "Despite excesses, the informing vision and the utopian hopes of 'social unionism' remain part of a creative phase in the American labor experience that is worth remembering." A most useful review of the role of Jewish immigrants within the labor movement.

Rischin, Moses, *The Promised City.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1962. 342 pp..

A well written, thoughtful account of "the American baptismal" of the Jews of New York, 1870-1914, which encompassed the great migration, the Lower East Side, the great strikes in

the needle trades, socialism, and the settlement houses. See Chapter 4, "Urban Economic Frontier," pp. 51-75, for an account of the Jewish immigrants entry into the New York labor market; and Chapter 9, "Labor's Dilemna," pp. 171-194, for a succinct account of the rise of the unions in the needle trades.

Robinson, Harriet H., *Loom and Spindle.* Thomas Y. Crowell & Company. New York, 1898. 216 pp..

There is no more unique migration in our history than that of the Yankee, native stock, country girls with the queer names -- Samantha, Trihena, Pluny, Kezia, Elgordy, Leify, Ruhamah, Lovey, Almaretta, Serapta, and Florilla -- who came to the cotton mills of Lowell in the 1830s. The "factory girls" even produced their own, genteel intellectual elite, the contributors to "The Lowell Offering."

"That wonderful city of spindles and looms," however, was not without its ethno-cultural conflicts. The first strike in Lowell took place shortly after the city -- with its factories -- was founded in 1822 when dyers and calico printers, "sent for from England," left town "with their families in a large wagon with a band of music" in a dispute over wages. The factory girls, themselves, lost a strike in 1836 protesting a wage cut of "at least one dollar a week." (Some of the girls made from six to ten dollars a week.) Though Mrs. Robinson concentrates on "the bright side" of the experience she shared as a factory girl, she tells of "pitched battles," warfare "lasting ten years," between the sons of the Irish laborers, who built the factories of Lowell, and "the damned Yankee boys." Mrs. Robinson concludes with a look at the cotton factory of today (1890s) and reports "a tired hopelessness about them." Hours of labor are less, but they "tend so many looms and frames that they have no time to think." The Yankee girls have left, and two-thirds of the factory population are now children of the foreign-born. The first Lowell migration was unique, as one of their number later said, "that special occupation [a Lowell operative] was temporary, and not the business of our lives, we all knew, girls as we were." The Irish and French-Canadian girls who followed were not so fortunate; they had no choice.

Sayles, Leonard R. and Straus, George, *The Local Union: Its Place in the Industrial Plant.* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1953. See Chapter 14, "Women and Minority Groups," pp. 210-221.

"Although the number of foreign-born workers in industry is declining, ethnic differences. . .still play an important role." Open disputes, report the authors, with name-calling, etc. were rarely observed. "Nevertheless, ethnic differences still play a major part in determining who is elected to leadership and the degree to which various groups participate." The relationship of women and minority groups to the local union, the authors argue, "is much less determined by what happens in the plant than by community attitudes and the cultural background of the membership."

Schoener, Allon, Portal to America: the Lower East Side, 1870-1925. Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1967. 256 pp.

An exceptionally perceptive selection of photographs and Contemporary comments, mostly from newspapers. Good material on sweatshops, strikes, police actions, triangle fire.

Seidman, Joel, *The Needle Trades,* Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1942. 356 pp.. See pp. 30-51.

"Few industries have reflected to a greater degree than the needle trades the cosmopolitan nature of the American population." In his chapter on the labor force, Professor Seidman reviews the complex ethnicity of the industry. Local 22, the Dressmakers' Union, for example, had 47

national and racial groups in its membership of 29,000 in 1937. Jewish workers formed the largest group at 70.5 percent; Negroes were next, with 9.5 percent, followed by Spanish-speaking workers, 6.5 percent, and "old stock" Americans, 3.7 percent of the membership. The remaining 2,871, roughly 9.8 percent, represented 43 other national groups, German, French, Polish, Greek, Austrian, British, Russian, Syrian, Hungarian, Turkish, Scandinavian, Lithuanian, Chinese and Japanese. In other locals and areas, Italians were the dominant group. Negroes, in 1936, were roughly five percent of the ILGWU's New York City membership. In Chicago and Philadelphia, Negroes entered the needle trades as strike breakers in 1917 and 1921 respectively.

Shannon, William V., *The American Irish.* The MacMillan Company, New York, 1966. 484 pp..

The grand parade of the Irish in America, from the potato famine to the presidency. The earlier chapters touch upon the Irish entry into the work force, and Chapter Two, pp. 27-46, tells how it was that "The Irish,. . .a rural people in Ireland. . .became a city people in the United States."

Smith, William Carlson, *Americans in the Making.* D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1939. 454 pp..

In this broad-based but thorough history of the assimilation of immigrants to America, the author emphasizes the general aspects of the assimiliation process that are common to all groups. A useful background book on assimiliation.

Spero, Sterling D. and Harris Abram L., *The Black Worker.* Columbia University Press, New York, 1931. Reissued by Kennikat Press, Inc., Port Washington, New York, 1966. 496 pp..

A pioneer study of the black worker, his entry into industry and the labor movement. "The discrimination which the Negro suffers in industry," the authors wrote in 1931, "is a heritage of his previous condition of servitude, kept alive and aggravated within the ranks of organized labor by the structure and politics of American trade unionism. This persistence of the Negro's slave heritage and the exclusive craft structure of the leading labor organizations are, in our opinion, two of four basic factors in the Negro's relations to his white fellow workers. The two others are (a) the change in the Negro's fundamental relation to industry resulting from the recent migrations and the absorption into the mills and factories of a substantial part of the reserve of black labor, and (b) the rise of a Negro middle class and the consequent spread of middle-class ideals throughout the Negro community.

Stampp, Kenneth M., *The Peculiar Institution.* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1956. 430 pp..

For one group of Americans, immigration was forced and slavery their introduction to work in America. And, as Professor Stampp notes, "one must know what slavery meant to the Negro and how he reacted to it before one can comprehend his more recent tribulations." Slavery was a system of labor extortion, markedly brutal when necessary and always demeaning. As an escaped black woman put it, "It is a great heaviness on a person's mind to be a slave."

Significantly, Professor Stampp finds evidence that as slaves Negroes were more ruinous economic competitors of white labor than they were as freedmen. (See p. 426) "The replacement of white labor with slaves after a strike in Richmond's Tredegar Iron Company was a dramatic illustration of the free worker's weak position in the South."

Stuart, Irving R. "Intergroup Relations and Acceptance of Puerto Ricans and Negroes in an Immigrants' Industry." *Journal of Social Psychology* 56: 89-96. 1962.

Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the ladies' garment industry now occupy the low skilled and unskilled positions occupied by the immigrants at the turn of this century. "However, there is evidence that the Latin Americans are more easily integrating themselves into the industry." The newcomers are kept in subordinate crafts by the "oldtimers" refusal to provide training as well as a lack of self-assurance and willingness to compete among the newcomers. The author asserts that the ILGWU has encouraged the newcomers to enter training programs for higher skills and improved job opportunities. But this encouragement has not yet been very effective.

Stuart, Irving R. "Minorities vs. Minorities: Cognitive, Affective and Conative Components of Puerto Rican and Negro Acceptance and Rejection." *The Journal of Social Psychology* 59: 93-99. February, 1963.

Found considerable animosity between the newcomers to the industry (Negroes and Puerto Ricans) and the oldtimers rising out of anxiety over economic competition. Grievance records illustrate how the Negroes and Puerto Ricans were negatively perceived, i.e. as "immoral," "devious," "sly," "combative," "deceitful," etc., attitudes deeply resented by the newcomers. Shows how differences based on age structure are interpreted as ethnic differences.

Taft, Philip, *The A.F. of L. From the Death of Gompers to the Merger.* Harper & Row, New York, 1959. 499 pages. See Chapter XXXI, "Negro Workers," pp. 439-449.

"Although the A.F. of L. was officially opposed to discrimination for reasons of race, creed, or color, discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups was tolerated in practice throughout the years. Only this much can be said for the Federation's policy: The A.F. of L. had no power to compel international unions to obey its pronouncements against racial discrimination." Professor Taft examines the record from 1925 to 1944, noting the Federation's support for the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Taft, Philip, *Organized Labor in American History.* Harper & Row, New York, 1964. 878 pages. See Chapter 50, "Organized Labor and the Negro." pp. 664-706.

Professor Taft here briefly reviews the history of organized labor and the Negro from the post-Civil War National Labor Union down to the AFL-CIO. He concludes, "The labor movement and its constituent unions can make a contribution to a fair and equal job policy, but pressure by the government is needed to support the efforts of the leaders of labor."

Taft, Philip, *The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1957. 508 pp.. See Chapter XIX, "Immigration, Negro Labor, and the A.F. of L." pp. 302-319.

A noted labor historian reviews the American Federation of Labor's attitude towards immigration. "The immigration question first came before the A.F. of L. in 1881, with the demand for restricting the importation of contract laborers and stopping the inflow of Chinese settlers to the United States. Later the A.F. of L. also favored more severe restrictions upon non-Oriental immigration. Professor Taft cites testimony from the Bethlehem Steel Company, which complained that it had to pay too high wages because of the restriction of free immigration. It was a line of argument that certainly helped move the A.F. of L. to take an opposite track. And, on the Negro question: "The record shows that the Federation, as distinct from its affiliates, was always anxious to organize the Negro, and did so whenever possible."

Thernstrom, Stephen, *Poverty and Progress.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1964. 286 pp..

Stephan Thernstrom's study of occupational mobility in the 19th century centers on Newburyport, Massachusetts, a small manufacturing city, and focuses on the lives of "hundreds of obscure men," tracing the social position of unskilled manual laborers and their families. Characteristically, unskilled manual laborers remained common laborers; their sons, by contrast, typically, became semi-skilled workmen. No more than one in four inherited the exact occupation of his father and remained in it. Migration was an important mechanism of occupational adjustment; the successful were less likely to leave than the unsuccessful. Foreign-born workmen and their sons were handicapped in the occupational competition. Their sons, however, experienced fewer obstacles to occupational mobiiity. The new factories of Newburyport, and possibly elsewhere, Thernstrom suggests, were not crowded with declasse artisans, but with men with little status to lose, migrants from rural America or the old world. For these, factory employment "meant new earning opportunities and the prospect of accumulating a modicum of property, not a fall from paradise."

A thoughtful and worthwhile book, particularly good in its critique of the Warner, "Yankee City" studies, done in the same city.

Thomas, William I. and Znaniecki, Florian, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.* Dover Publications, New York, 1958. 2 Vols.. 2250 pp..

Letters are often an invaluable source of sociological material. Thomas and Znaniecki have mined the field deeply and well. As they note, "The Polish peasant. . .writes many and long letters. This is particularly striking, since the business of writing or even of reading letters is at best very difficult. . . . Letter writing is [therefore] a social duty of ceremonial character. . . ." Letters also "manifest the persistence of familial solidarity in spite of the separation," and affirms cultural and religious ties as well.

The disintegration of family life often crops up first in letters back home. As the authors note (103), a boy leaves home, he raises no question about the nature of his duties to his parents. "He plans to send home all the money possible; he lives the cheapest way and works the longest hours." HIs letters home begin —— "Dear Parents: I send you 300 rubles, and I will always send you as much as I can earn." But then, perhaps affected by the standards of the new world, he may some day write, "Dear Parents: I will send money; only you ask too much."

Of interest to those studying immigration and labor is the discussion on pp. 172-175 of work attitudes. Polish peasants, for example, vigorously reject piece-work in Poland but often accept it eagerly abroad, reflecting a change in their attitudes towards work. See also the discussion in footnotes, pp. 508-509, and the accompanying letters of Maks. Work for others in Poland is only an additional means of existence; property is the main interest and hope of advancement. According to the authors the Polish peasant carries this attitude with him so that the Polish immigrant worker looks upon his labor not as a means of organizing life, but as a means of attaining property. This attitude certainly must affect class attitudes and ethno-cultural conflicts between those sharing the Polish peasant immigrants' attitude towards work, and those who do not.

Tyler, Gus, *The Labor Revolution.* The Viking Press, New York, 1967. 279 pages. See Chapter 9, "The New Negro." pp. 179-197.

In discussing the emergence of the "New Negro" out of the civil rights movement and into the labor movement, Gus Tyler argues that the newcomers "may be expected to add a touch of the militant" and will be "strongly inclined toward the political uses of unionism." Otherwise, "the forecast for the Negro worker is that he will travel the road of the white worker, although he will

trail far behind: from farm to town, from field to factory, from blue collar to white collar, from little education to more education."

Wagstaff, Thomas *et. al.*, "The Negro and the American Labor Movement: Some Selected Chapters." *Labor History*, Vol. 10, No. 3. Summer, 1969. pp. 323-552.

As Professor James A. Gross notes in his discussion of "Historians and the Literature of the Negro Worker," pp. 536-552, "the Black worker. . .has been studied *indirectly* and then as a problem for the white man's union." But, he adds, "to write of one group merely as a problem for another group is to end up with little or no history at all." Much of this excellent collection copes with Professor Gross' dilemma, although none of it quite escapes the "problem." Kenneth O. Porter's "Negro Labor in the Western Cattle Industry, 1866-1900"; Joseph E. Walker's "A Comparison of Negro and White Labor in a Charcoal Iron Community"; William W. Rogers' "Negro Knights of Labor in Arkansas: A Case Study of the Miscellaneous Strike"; and Herbert G. Gutman's "Black Coal Miners and the Greenback-Labor Party in Redeemer, Alabama, 1878-1879," are valuable contributions to the history of Black workers. Several pieces gain from being read, side-by-side, notably, Paul B. Worthman's "Black Workers and Labor Unions in Birmingham, Alabama, 1897-1904," with William M. Tuttle, Jr.'s "Labor Conflict and Racial Violence: The Black Worker in Chicago, 1894-1919;" and Raymond Wolters' "Section 7a and the Black Worker" with James S. Olson's "Organized Black Leadership and Industrial Unionism: The Racial Response, 1936-1945."

Each piece can stand on its own, but the comparison the reader can make between interracial cooperation (and its defeat) in Alabama and racial strife in Chicago and between the suspicions of trade unionism evidenced by many Blacks during the "7-a" period and the subsequent swing to support of industrial unionism surely contribute to deepening one's understanding of the dynamics of change in intergroup relations.

Walker, Charles Rumford, *Steel: The Diary of a Furnace Worker.* Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston, 1922. 157 pp..

While there is little direct discussion of ethnicity in the steel labor force, one gets the feel of it in this account of Walker's experience in the mill shortly before the 1919 steel strike. The clean-up gang in the pit, for example, consisted of Marco, a young Croat of twenty-four; Fritz, a German; Peter, "a Russian of infinite good-nature;" and a quiet-eyed Pole, " who was saving up two hundred dollars to go to the old country." Everybody carries an ethnic tag, and discrimination exists though often in subtle ways. When Walker is chosen from the pit for floor work on the furnaces, he notes discrimination in his favor against the "Hunkies." In the pit, Pete, the Russian, had discriminated against Walker in favor of the Russians.

"How many Hunkies have risen to foremen's jobs, I thought, in the two departments where I have worked? One in the open-hearth –– a fellow who 'stuck with the company' in the Homestead strike –– and none on the blast furnaces except Adolphe, the slave-gang boss." Walker, too, is told, "You don't want to work there [in the cast house], only Hunkies work on those jobs, they're too damn dirty and too damn hot for a 'white' man." (p. 107) Walker also writes of four white men who worked for a Negro furnace keeper, "They were Austrians, and I found they joked together and showed no resentment of status. . . . The Negro. . .seemed too slightly built for the job, but he performed it very efficiently, and so did his gang."

Ware, Norman, *The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860.* Peter Smith. Gloucester, Mass., 1959. 249 pp..

A history of the pre-Civil War labor movement and its origins in the growth of industrialism. In Chapter II, p. 10-17, the author discusses briefly the impact of the "new immigration" of

English and Irish laborers, which, he argues, along with the migrants from the countryside swelled the "multitudes of the poor who existed somehow" in Boston, New York and Philadelphia. Cautiously, the author puts forth the view that "net effect of immigration was to lower the standards of the American worker and render the solidarity necessary to effective organization impossible of achievement." The book's chief value, however, is as background on the growth of industrialism and of early trade unionism.

Warne, Frank Julian and Commons, John R., "Slavs in Coal Mining." *Trade Unionism and Labor Problems.* (Commons) ed. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1905. pp. 336-348.

Warne discusses the influx of Slavs and Italians into the Pennsylvania anthracite fields at the turn of the century; and Commons, the immigration of Slavs and Italians to the bituminous fields of Illinois.

Down to 1900, in Pennsylvania, the opposition to assimilation was dominant, but the strikes of 1900 and 1902, largely successful, set into motion different forces. Industrial self-interest broke down racial ties, largely through the instrumentality of the United Mine Workers. The Slavs, in 1902, became the "best" strikers.

In Illinois, however, a somewhat different pattern developed, in part because of the differences between the rich, thick-veined Southern and the thin-veined Northern coal fields. The Slavs were brought to Northern fields because of their willingness to work at lower wages and under difficult conditions. "The American and west European stock tend to distribute themselves in the better districts of the state and to keep the better paying positions in each mine." A successful strike in 1897 won wages and working conditions that operated so as to cut down immigration. For one thing, union rules and state law —- require two men to work together in a "room," and to share their earnings. Consequently, a new miner must find an old one willing to teach and share with him, something not easily achieved by new immigrants. Secondly, the new minimum wage was sufficiently high to dampen the interest of the employer in hiring fresh and inexperienced men, so long as older men are available for employment. One result was the decline in the employment of boys under 14, and the consequent increase in school attendance among "foreigners' children, who otherwise would be found at work to help out the family income."

Warner, William Lloyd and Srole, Leo, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups,* Vol. III of the Yankee City Series. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1945. 318 pp..

A study of the social life of the ethnic groups of Yankee City, Newburyport, Massachusetts, including the Irish, French-Canadian, Jews, Armenians, and Poles. See, in particular, Chapter IV, "The Ethnic Groups in the Economic Life of the Community," pp. 53-66; and Chapter V, "The Ethnic Groups in the Class System," pp. 67-102. Generally the authors find the succeeding immigrant groups following the upwardly mobile patterns of the preceeding group although "native control of the hierarchy has served to resist and retard the rate of such mobility." Migration, too, serves as a way out of the city, and presumeably, upward in economic and social standing as well as creating openings for those who follow. "The ethnics are well distributed today through the Yankee City occupational strata because of the departure of natives for larger economic opportunities as well as the driving aspirations of the ethnics themselves."

Warner, William Lloyd and Low, J.O., *The Social System of the Modern Factory,* Vol. IV, Yankee City Series. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1947. 245 pp..

A shoe strike in "Yankee City," Newburyport, Massachusetts, is the occasion for a sociological dissection of labor and management relations. Ethno-cultural differences are discussed as the

authors analyze the social organization of the factory and relate it to the larger community. See the section on ethnic groups and solidarity, pp. 92-98. Among the authors' findings: "ethnic identification accompanied a high degree of solidarity and ethnic diversity, a low degree of solidarity."

Weaver, Robert C., *Negro Labor.* Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1946. 329 pp..

World War II occasioned the entry of over a million black workers into manufacturing employment. The majority came as migrants, from the farm to the factory. How it happened and what happened are the substance of this book. The raw materials are based on field investigations, personal interviews and correspondence, and the author brings to the writing experience gained during the war years in various government agencies assigned the task of encouraging further utilization of Negro labor in defense and war industries.

Weinstein, Bernard, "1882 – the Year the Irish and Jews Staged New York's First Sympathy Strike on the Waterfront." *Justice.* September 1, 1969. Translated from *Forty Years in the Jewish Labor Movement* by Leon Stein and Meyer Miller.

A first-hand account of how a group of Jewish "Greenhorns" were tricked into scabbing on the New York waterfront, and how they reacted when they found out.

Weinstein, Gregory, *The Ardent Eighties.* The International Press, New York, 1928. See Part One, "From a Printer's Past." pp. 1-70.

Some recollections of an immigrant from Vilna, who arrived at Castle Garden a member of a "band of hopeful idealists" proposing to establish a commune on some farm land that never materialized. "So we started tramping the city, looking for signs 'Hands Wanted'. The few artisans among us –– carpenters, painters, designers, tailors –– had no difficulty in finding employment at what was then high pay, eighteen to twenty dollars per week. But the former students and professional workers would find only errand boy jobs at four or five dollars per week. The biggest pay, recalls Weinstein, was $3.00 a day at the Jersey docks –– as greenhorn strike breakers. Of special interest are Weinstein's experiences as a printer, moving from the language shops –– German, Yiddish, French –– to the English language shops.

Wittke, Carl, *The Irish in America.* Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1956. 319 pp..

A scholarly account of Irish life in this country. Historian Wittke adequately covers the Irish Immigrants' arrival in our cities (Chapter III., pp. 23-31), and first jobs on working on the railroad, (canals, too.) Chapter IV., pp. 32-29. He also devotes a chapter to the Irish in the labor movement, Chapter XX., pp. 216-227. One wishes, however, for more on the conflict between the Irish in the Catholic Church and those in the labor movement. The author gives us only a most tantalizing glimpse.

Yearley, Clifton K., Jr. *Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrants on American Labor, 1820-1914.* Johns Hopkins University studies in historical and political science, ser. LXXV, No. 1. 332 pp..

"Information on these people [United Kingdom immigrants] is incomplete," writes the author, "yet official samplings of the occupations of over a quarter of a million British workers who entered the United States between 1873 and 1918 show that about 40 per cent claimed to be skilled men, while only twenty-five per cent recorded themselves as unskilled." Not only were they skilled, but these workmen possessed a "corporate sense of labor," and as a result United Kingdom immigrants and British labor ideas had a strong and significant impact on the evolving American labor movement. The author explores this impact in convincing detail from its beginnings around 1820 down to the 20th century.

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